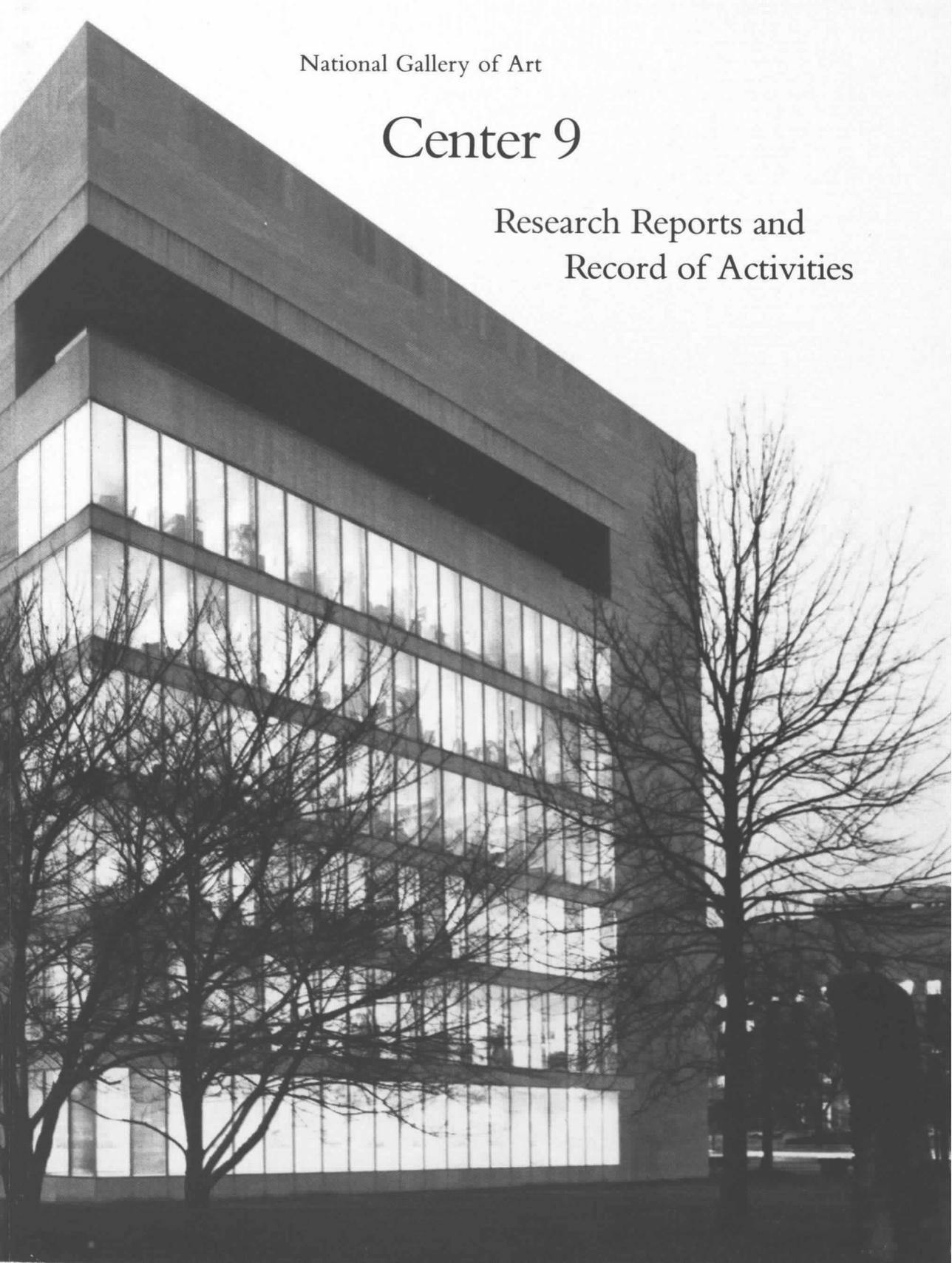


National Gallery of Art

# Center 9

Research Reports and  
Record of Activities







National Gallery of Art  
CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
IN THE VISUAL ARTS

Center 9  
Research Reports  
and Record of Activities

June 1988–May 1989

Washington, 1989

National Gallery of Art  
CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDY IN THE VISUAL ARTS

Washington, D.C. 20565  
Telephone: (202) 842-6480

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*Frontispiece*

George Cruikshank, *Fairy Connoisseurs Inspecting Mr. Locker's Collection of Drawings*, etched frontispiece to Frederick Locker-Lampson's *The Rowfant Library: A Catalogue* (London: privately printed, 1868), National Gallery of Art, Washington. Gift of Mrs. Lessing J. Rosenwald, 1989

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## Report on the Academic Year June 1988–May 1989

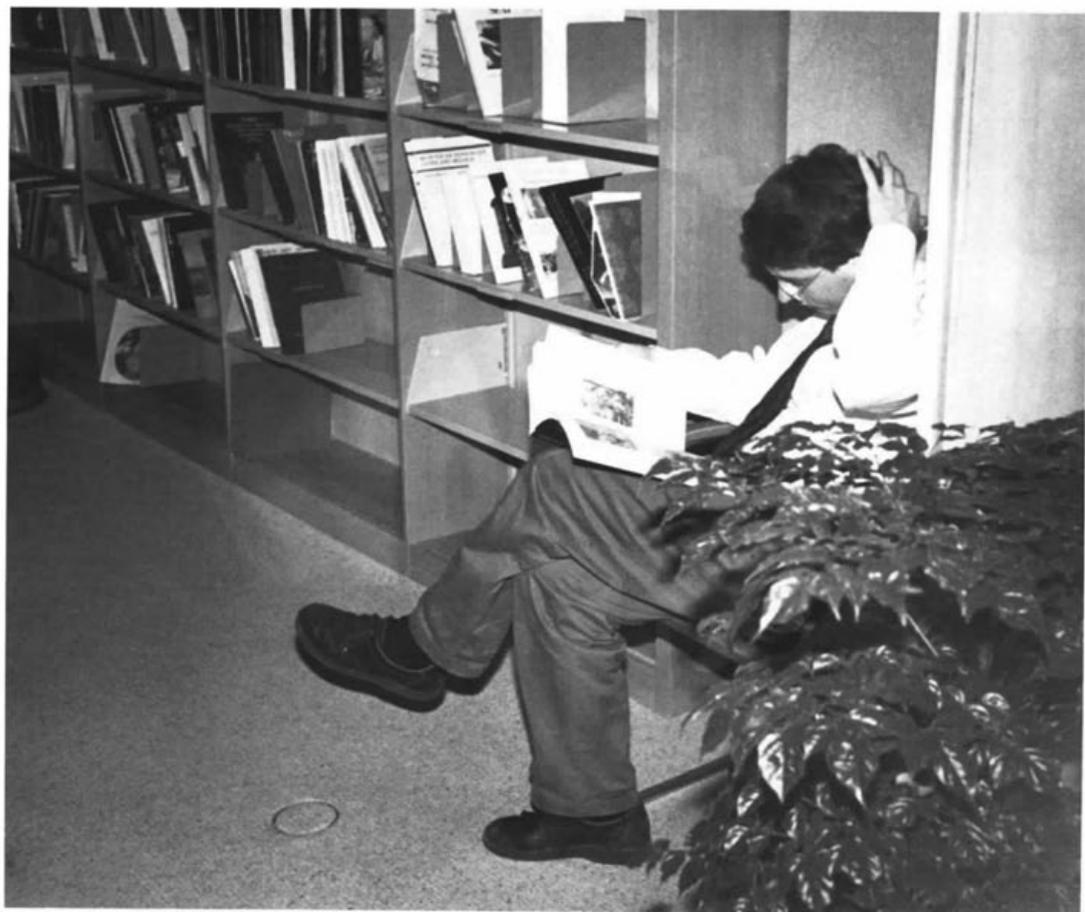
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DESCRIPTION



**T**HE CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDY IN THE VISUAL ARTS was founded in 1979, as part of the National Gallery of Art, to promote the study of history, theory, and criticism of art, architecture, and urbanism through the formation of a community of scholars. This community consists of the Samuel H. Kress Professor, the Andrew W. Mellon Lecturer in the Fine Arts, Senior Fellows, Visiting Senior Fellows, the National Gallery of Art Curatorial Fellow, Associates, and Postdoctoral and Predoctoral Fellows. The activities of the Center, which include the fellowship program, meetings, research, and publications, are privately funded.

## FIELDS OF INQUIRY

The Center fosters study of the production, use, and cultural meaning of art and artifacts from prehistoric times to the present. Studies of all the visual arts from a variety of approaches by historians, critics, and theorists of art, as well as by scholars in related disciplines of the humanities and social sciences, are encouraged. The Center also supports studies of the theory, historiography, and criticism of the visual arts, including critical studies leading to the formation of aesthetic theories.



## FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

### *Samuel H. Kress Professorship*

The National Gallery of Art and the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts select annually a distinguished art historian as Samuel H. Kress Professor, a position created by the Gallery in 1965. Occasionally two scholars are chosen to serve consecutive terms during the same academic year. Traditionally, the Kress Professor counsels Predoctoral Fellows in their dissertation research. The Kress Professor is the senior member of the Center.

### *Senior Fellowships*

Senior Fellowships are awarded without regard to the age or nationality of applicants. Senior Fellowships are limited to those who have held the Ph.D. for five years or more or who possess a record of professional accomplishment at the time of application. Awards are normally made for the academic year. Awards for one academic term are also possible. Senior Fellows must reside in the Washington area during the fellowship period, which normally runs from early fall to late spring, and are expected to participate in the activities of the Center. Senior Fellows may not hold other appointments while in residence at the Center.

Senior Fellowship grants are based on individual need. The award will normally be limited to one-half the applicant's annual salary with the expectation that applicants will bring sabbatical stipends or research grants



from their home institutions. In addition to a stipend, each Senior Fellow receives round-trip travel expenses; a supplemental housing allowance; a research allowance for photographs, slides, microfilms; and subsidized luncheon privileges. A study is provided for each Senior Fellow. Limited travel funds are available for research purposes and for presenting papers at professional meetings.

The application deadline for the Senior Fellowship program is 1 October. Each candidate submits an application form including a project proposal, three publications, biographical data, and a financial statement. The application must be supported by three letters of recommendation.

### *Visiting Senior Fellowships*

The Center awards Visiting Senior Fellowships for a maximum of sixty days during the year in two periods: (A) September through February, and (B) March through August. Qualifications and conditions of appointment are the same as those for Senior Fellowships. Awards include a stipend, a research allowance, subsidized luncheon privileges, and a study. The application deadlines are 21 March for period A and 21 September for period B. Candidates for Visiting Senior Fellowships need only two letters of recommendation in support of their application. Submission of publications is not required.

### *National Gallery of Art Curatorial Fellowship*

One Senior Fellowship is reserved for a qualified art historian who has served at least one year in a department of the National Gallery, and who holds the Ph.D. or has a record of professional achievement at the time of application. Curatorial Fellows may obtain leave for up to six months to pursue their projects.

The application deadline is 1 October. Candidates submit a proposal and an application form similar to that for a Senior Fellowship, but with only two publications required.

### *Associate Status*

The Center may appoint Associates who have obtained awards from other granting institutions. These appointments are without stipend and can be made for periods ranging from one month to an academic year. Qualifications, conditions, and application procedures are the same as those for Senior Fellowships and Visiting Senior Fellowships. The application deadline for Associate appointments for a full year or a single academic term is 1 October. Applications will also be considered on 21 March for appointments of less than one academic term during the period September–February and on 21 September for appointments of less than one academic term during the period March–August.

### *Postdoctoral Fellowships*

One Samuel H. Kress Postdoctoral Curatorial Fellowship is available each year to a fellow holding the Samuel H. Kress or Mary Davis Predoctoral Fellowship.

### *Predoctoral Fellowships*

The Center awards a number of one-, two-, and three-year fellowships to Ph.D. candidates in any field of art history who have completed their university residence requirements, course work, general or preliminary examinations, and at least half a year's full-time research on their proposed dissertation topics. Certain fellowships are designated for research in specific fields. Others require a period of residency at the Center that includes participation in a curatorial research project at the National Gallery. Applicants either must be United States citizens or be enrolled in a university in the United States.

Application for the National Gallery Predoctoral Fellowships at the Center may be made only through graduate departments of art history and other appropriate departments, under the sponsorship of departmental chairs. The application deadline is 15 November. Fellowship grants begin on 1 September each year and are not renewable. All contact should be between the departmental chair and the Center. Nomination forms will be sent to departmental chairs.

### *Other Information about Tenure and Application*

Members may not apply for other Center fellowships during the period of their award; the award itself is not renewable and may not be postponed. Visiting Senior Fellows may receive an award in three consecutive years but thereafter must wait three years before reapplying to the Center. Holders of Senior Fellowships and Associate appointments for two terms may reapply after an interval of five years. Holders of one-term appointments, including National Gallery Curatorial Fellowships, may reapply after three years. The appropriate application forms for Senior Fellowships, Visiting Senior Fellowships, National Gallery Curatorial Fellowships, and Associate appointments may be obtained by writing to the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. 20565. Further information about these fellowships may be obtained from the Center.

## FACILITIES

The offices, seminar room, and individual studies of the Center are located in the East Building of the National Gallery. These facilities are always available, as is the library of more than 120,000 volumes. The Gallery's

collections, photographic archives, and other services are available during regular business hours. Members of the Center also have access to other libraries in the Washington area, including the Library of Congress, the Folger Shakespeare Library, Dumbarton Oaks, and the libraries and collections of the various museums of the Smithsonian Institution. Luncheon is available for fellows and staff in the National Gallery refectory on weekdays.

## PROGRAM OF MEETINGS

The Center for Advanced Study sponsors programs of regular and special meetings throughout the academic year. Meetings held at regular intervals include colloquia presented by the senior members of the Center and shop talks given by Predoctoral Fellows. Art historians and other scholars at universities, museums, and research institutes in the Washington area are invited to participate in these gatherings. Periodic meetings involving participants from the local, national, and international community of scholars include seminars, symposia, conferences, lectures, *incontri*, and the curatorial colloquy. Such gatherings, along with the Center's weekly luncheon and tea, annual reception in honor of the new members, and annual introductory meeting with the curatorial departments of the National Gallery, encourage formal and casual exchange among the members and help stimulate critical discourse among scholars in the area and elsewhere in advanced research in the history of art and related disciplines.

A list of the meetings held at the Center for Advanced Study in 1988–1989 appears on pages 21–34.

## PUBLICATION PROGRAM

Reports by members of the Center for Advanced Study are published annually (see pages 38–100 for reports written by members of the Center in 1988–1989). The Center also publishes an annual listing of awards for research in the history of art sponsored by a number of granting institutions in the United States, Canada, Europe, Australia, India, Thailand, and Turkey. This year saw the publication of *Sponsored Research in the History of Art* 8, listing awards for 1987–1988 and 1988–1989.

Papers presented at symposia sponsored by the Center are often gathered and published in the Symposium Papers of the National Gallery's *Studies in the History of Art*. Eight symposia volumes have appeared to date: *Macedonia and Greece in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Times* (Volume 10); *El Greco: Italy and Spain* (Volume 13); *Claude Lorrain 1600–1682: A Symposium* (Volume 14); *Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Volume 16); *Raphael before Rome* (Volume 17); *James McNeill Whistler: A Reexamination* (Volume 19); *Italian Medals* (Volume 21); and *Italian Plaquettes* (Volume 22). Papers from eight other symposia are being prepared for publication as volumes of *Studies*. These are: *Retaining the Original:*

*Multiple Originals, Copies, and Reproductions* (Volume 20); *The Fashioning and Functioning of the British Country House* (Volume 25); *Winslow Homer* (Volume 26); *Cultural Differentiation and Cultural Identity in the Visual Arts* (Volume 27); *Nationalism in the Arts* (Volume 29); *The Mall in Washington, 1791–1991* (Volume 30); *Urban Form and Meaning in South Asia: The Shaping of Cities from Prehistoric to Precolonial Times* (Volume 31); and *New Perspectives in Early Greek Art* (Volume 32). Additionally, the Center expects to gather the papers of five symposia held during 1988–1989 for publication in the Symposium Papers. These are: *Michelangelo Drawings*; *Art and Power in Seventeenth-Century Sweden*; *The Architectural Historian in America*; *The Pastoral Landscape*; and *The Artist's Workshop*.

## RESEARCH PROGRAM

In 1982–1983 the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts initiated a program of long-term research projects. One such project, under the direction of the dean of the Center and with the support of the J. Paul Getty Trust and consulting scholars, involves the compilation of a photographic archive of architectural drawings, as well as the development of an automated cataloguing system including a program for interrelated indexing. It is expected that the archive will include photographs of architectural drawings to the year 1800 held in public collections of North America and Europe. Another research project aims to develop a standard method of gathering and processing information on illustrated Islamic manuscripts and to organize the documentation in a centralized and easily accessible compilation. The project will deal with manuscripts written in Arabic and Persian and produced in Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Iran, Central Asia, and Afghanistan during the eleventh through the fifteenth centuries. The goals of this project, which is under the direction of the associate dean, are to permit the study of broad technical and historical issues and to encourage the exploration of various methodologies that might be employed to evaluate the entire Islamic manuscript tradition.

## BOARD OF ADVISORS AND SELECTION COMMITTEE

A Board of Advisors, comprised of seven art historians appointed with rotating terms, meets annually to consider the policies and programs of the Center for Advanced Study. The board also serves as a selection committee to review all fellowship applications to the Center. A member of the curatorial staff of the National Gallery of Art is present during the interview of applicants for Predoctoral Fellowships. The committee forwards recommendations for appointment to the Board of Trustees of the National Gallery.

REPORT ON THE ACADEMIC YEAR  
June 1988–May 1989

## BOARD OF ADVISORS

Wanda Corn, Stanford University  
Jan Fontein, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston  
Anne d'Harnoncourt, The Philadelphia Museum of Art  
Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, New York University, Institute of Fine  
Arts  
Donald Presiozi, University of California, Los Angeles  
John Rosenfield, Harvard University  
Juergen Schulz, Brown University  
Linda Seidel, The University of Chicago  
Cecil L. Striker, University of Pennsylvania  
John Wilmerding, Princeton University

## STAFF

Henry A. Millon, *Dean*  
Marianna S. Simpson, *Associate Dean*  
Therese O'Malley, *Assistant Dean*

Tracy Cooper, *Research Assistant to the Dean*  
Massumeh Farhad, *Research Assistant to the Associate Dean*  
Ann Gilkerson, *Research Assistant to the Assistant Dean*  
Jane ten Brink Goldsmith, *TAU Staff Assistant*  
Mina Marefat, *Research Associate, CASVA Cataloguing Project*  
Claire Sherman, *Senior Research Associate*  
Elizabeth Streicher, *Research Assistant to the Kress Professor*

Susan Bewley, *Assistant to the Program of Regular Meetings*  
Cecelia Gallagher, *Secretary to the Kress Professor and Assistant to the  
Program of Special Meetings*  
Deborah Gómez, *Assistant to the Fellowships Program*  
Curtis Millay, *Secretary to Research Programs*  
Helen Tangires, *Staff Assistant*

### *Curatorial Liaison*

Diane DeGrazia, *Curator of Italian Drawings*  
Department of Prints and Drawings

## MEMBERS

*Samuel H. Kress Professor, 1988–1989*

Sylvie Béguin, Musée du Louvre  
*Rosso Fiorentino*

*Andrew W. Mellon Lecturer in the Fine Arts, 1989*

Oleg Grabar, Harvard University  
*Intermediary Demons: Toward a Theory of Ornament*

### *Senior Fellows*

Caroline Bruzelius, Duke University  
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, fall 1988  
*The Angevin Churches of Southern Italy: From Charles of Anjou to Robert the Wise (1266–1343)*

Allan Ceen, Cornell University in Rome;  
American Overseas School of Rome  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1988–1989  
*Urban Planning in Rome: 1500 to 1750*

William Eisler, Art Gallery of New South Wales  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1988–1989  
*Charles V and the Visual Arts*

Frederick Hartt, University of Virginia (emeritus)  
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1988–1989  
*Michelangelo Studies*





Joseph Levine, Syracuse University  
Paul Mellon Senior Fellow, 1988–1989  
*Ancients, Moderns, and History*

Tod Marder, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, spring 1989  
*The Architecture of Bernini*

### *Visiting Senior Fellows*

Constance Berman, University of Iowa  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1989  
*Construction of Churches and Financial Stability of Cistercian Women's Houses  
in the Ecclesiastical Province of Sens: 1200–1350*

John Correia-Afonso, The Heras Institute of Indian History and  
Culture, St. Xavier's College, Bombay  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1989  
*The Christian Contribution to Mughal Painting*

Joop M. Joosten, Stedelijk Museum  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1989  
*Introduction to the Catalogue Raisonné of the Cubist and Abstract Works by  
Piet Mondrian*

Gert Kreytenberg, Ruhr-Universität Bochum,  
Kunstgeschichtliches Institut  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1989  
*The Madonna of Humility in the National Gallery of Art, Attributed to  
Andrea Orcagna and Jacopo di Cione: Questions of Attribution and  
Iconography*

Royston Landau, Architectural Association School of Architecture,  
London  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1988  
*Architecture and Knowledge*

Tomasz Mikocki, University of Warsaw, Institute of Archaeology  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1989  
*Ancient Copies of Greek Sculpture in Polish Collections*

Alessandro Morandotti, Finarte Auction House, Milan  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1989  
*The Mellon Venus and Bacchus and the Original Sculpture Collection in the  
Nymphaeum of Villa Visconti Borromeo-Litta at Lainate*

Werner Oechslin, Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule, Zurich  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1988  
*Architectural Theory in the Vitruvian Tradition*

Joseph Polzer, University of Calgary  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, winter 1989  
*Simone Martini Studies*

Timothy James Standring, Pomona College  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1989  
*The Dal Pozzo Picture Collections*

Dieter Wuttke, Universität Bamberg  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1988  
*An Edition of Erwin Panofsky's Letters*

#### *Associates*

Jane Clark, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne  
November–December 1988  
*Australia–America: Landscape Painting and National Identity*

Robert Patten, Rice University  
1988–1989  
*The Life, Times, and Art of George Cruikshank*

#### *Ailsa Mellon Bruce National Gallery of Art Curatorial Fellow*

Nan Rosenthal, Curator of Twentieth-Century Art  
1988–1989  
*Hairpin Turns on the Road to the End of Idealism: The Banal, the  
Collaborative, and the Indexical as Signifiers of Authenticity in Second-  
Generation Postwar Art*

#### *Samuel H. Kress Postdoctoral Curatorial Fellows*

Elizabeth Brown, Department of Twentieth-Century Art  
1988–1989

Thomas Willette, Department of Southern Baroque Painting  
1988–1989

## *Predoctoral Fellows*

Robert Mark Antliff [Yale University]

Mary Davis Fellow, 1988–1990

*The Relevance of Bergson: Creative Institution, Fauvism, and Cubism*

Mark Crinson [University of Pennsylvania]

Chester Dale Fellow, 1988–1989

*The Mission of Architecture: Victorian Architecture and the Near East*

John Davis [Columbia University]

Wyeth Fellow, 1988–1990

*Picturing Palestine: The Holy Land in Nineteenth-Century American Art and Culture*

Isabelle Frank [Harvard University]

Paul Mellon Fellow, 1988–1991

*Melozzo da Forli and the Rome of Sixtus IV*

Alessandra Galizzi [The Johns Hopkins University]

David E. Finley Fellow, 1988–1991

*Francia and Devotional Expression in Italian Art c. 1500*

Marc Gotlieb\* [The Johns Hopkins University]

Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1987–1989

*The Thematics of Decoration in French Painting, 1890–1905*

Elizabeth Honig [Yale University]

Robert H. and Clarice Smith Fellow, 1988–1989

*Painting and the Marketplace: Pictures of Display and Exchange from Aertsen to De Witte*

Annette Leduc\* [The Johns Hopkins University]

David E. Finley Fellow, 1986–1989

*Gavarni's Human Comedy*

Jill Pearlman [The University of Chicago]

Chester Dale Fellow, 1988–1989

*Joseph Hudnut and the New American Architecture, 1934–1953*

Sarah Schroth [New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]

David E. Finley Fellow, 1987–1990

*The Private Art Collection and Patronage Activities of the Cardinal-Duke of Lerma*

Christopher Thomas [Yale University]

Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1988–1990

*The Lincoln Memorial and Its Architect, Henry Bacon, 1866–1924*

Jeffrey Weiss [New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]

Paul Mellon Fellow, 1987–1990

*Cubism and Early French Dada in the Aesthetic Milieu of the Café and Cabaret, 1908-1918*

\*in residence 19 September 1988–31 August 1989

## MEETINGS

### *Symposia*

7–8 October 1988

#### MICHELANGELO DRAWINGS

##### FIGURATIVE DRAWINGS

*Moderator:* Henry A. Millon, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

Marco Collareta, Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa

*Sui disegni murali della Sacrestia Nuova*

Frederick Hartt, University of Virginia (emeritus)

*The Mural Drawings at San Lorenzo and the Problem of Authenticity*

William E. Wallace, Washington University

*Drawings from the Fabbrica of San Lorenzo during the Tenure of Michelangelo*

Michael Hirst, Courtauld Institute of Art

*Some Observations on Michelangelo's Modello Style*

##### FIGURATIVE DRAWINGS

*Moderator:* Jane Roberts, The Royal Library, Windsor Castle

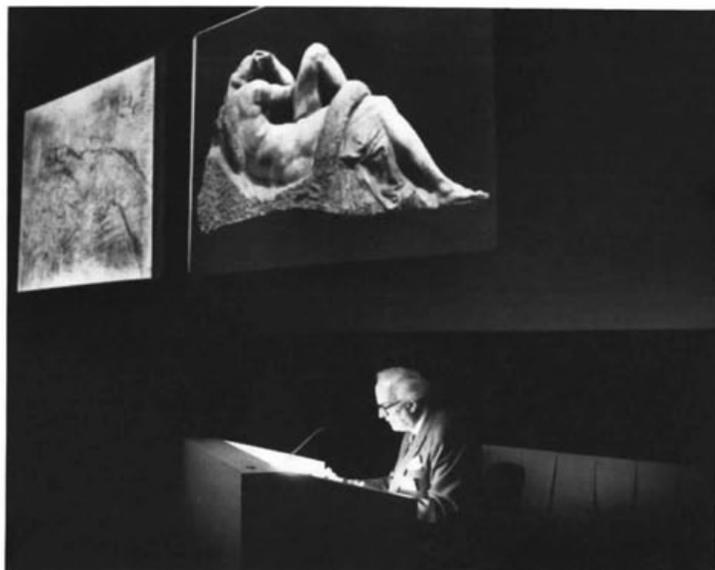
Fabrizio Mancinelli, Musei Vaticani

*The Early Projects for Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling: Their Practical and Artistic Consequence I*

Kathleen Weil-Garris Brandt, New York University,

Institute of Fine Arts

*The Early Projects for Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling: Their Practical and Artistic Consequence II*





Paul E.A. Joannides, University of Cambridge  
*"Primitivism" in the Late Drawings of Michelangelo*  
 Pina Ragionieri, Casa Buonarroti  
*Cleopatra by Michelangelo*

#### ARCHITECTURAL DRAWINGS

*Moderator:* Anna Maria Petrioli Tofani, Galleria degli Uffizi

Howard Burns, Harvard University

*Architectural Drawings and Michelangelo's Habits of Design*

Andrew Morrogh, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

*Michelangelo's Early Designs for the Medici Tomb*

Howard Saalman, Carnegie Mellon University

*Michelangelo's Second Project for the Tomb of Julius II*

Caroline Elam, The Burlington Magazine

*Problems of Design and Execution in Michelangelo's Florentine Buildings*

Claudio Tiunin, Laboratorio di Restauro T.L.T., Florence

*The Restoration of the San Lorenzo Model*

#### FIGURATIVE DRAWINGS

*Moderator:* David Alan Brown, National Gallery of Art

Konrad Oberhuber, Graphische Sammlung Albertina

*A Newly-Discovered Drawing for the Battle of Cascina*

Giovanni Agosti, Casa Buonarroti

*Michelangelo e i Lombardi, a Roma, intorno al 1500*

Creighton Gilbert, Yale University

*Un viso quasiche di furia: A Face As It Were of Madness*

Matthias Winner, Bibliotheca Hertziana

*Michelangelo's Sogno as an Example of the Artist's Personal Visual Reflection in His Drawings*

28–29 October 1988

ART AND POWER IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY SWEDEN

Cosponsored with the University of Minnesota and The Minneapolis Institute of Arts: held in Minneapolis

Göran Rystad, University of Lund

*The Europeanization of Sweden in the Seventeenth Century: The Experience of a Small State as a Great Power*

SESSION I: APPROACHING ART AND POWER THROUGH ART HISTORY

Moderator: Michael Conforti, The Minneapolis Institute of Arts

Hans Soop, Wasa Ship Museum, Stockholm

*The Imagery of Power and Glory in Seventeenth-Century Swedish Naval Architecture and Decoration*

Börje Magnusson, National Museum, Stockholm

*Sweden Illustrated: Erik Dahlbergh's Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna as a Manifestation of Imperial Ambition*

Guy Walton, New York University

*Nicodemus Tessin, the Younger, and Upgrading the Image of the Carolean Monarchy*

Allan Ellenius, University of Uppsala

*Nature, Dreams, and Realities: Ambiguities of Visual Imagery in Seventeenth-Century Sweden*

Discussion Leader: Ann Friedman, University of Minnesota

SESSION II: APPROACHING ART AND POWER THROUGH HISTORY AND RHETORICS

Moderator: Michael F. Metcalf, University of Minnesota

Kurt Johannesson, University of Uppsala

*Gustavus Adolphus as Orator*

Herman Schück, University of Stockholm

*The Rise of Stockholm as Sweden's Capital, 1600-1660*

Arne Losman, Skokloster Castle

*The Brahe Family*

Margareta Revera, University of Uppsala

*On the Benefits of Luxury: Conspicuous Consumption as an Agent of Change in Seventeenth-Century Sweden*

Discussion leader: Michael F. Metcalf, University of Minnesota

8–10 December 1988

THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORIAN IN AMERICA

Cosponsored with the Society of Architectural Historians

AMERICAN BEGINNINGS

Moderator: Richard Betts, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Elisabeth Blair MacDougall, Harvard University (emerita)

*Before 1880: Founding Fathers and Amateur Historians*

William B. Rhoads, State University College at New Paltz

*The Discovery of America's Architectural Past*



Lisa Koenigsberg, Landmarks Preservation Commission, New York  
*"Life-writing": First American Architectural Biographers and Their Works*

ARCHITECTURE AND HISTORY

*Moderator:* David Brownlee, University of Pennsylvania

Keith N. Morgan, Boston University

*History in the Service of Design: American Architect-Historians, 1870-1940*

Mary Woods, Cornell University and Columbia University,  
Buell Center

*History in the Early American Architectural Journals*

Michael Brooks, West Chester University

*New England Gothic: Charles Eliot Norton, Charles Herbert Moore, and  
Henry Adams*

David Van Zanten, Northwestern University

*Chicago in Architectural History*

J.A. Chewning, University of Cincinnati

*The Teaching of Architectural History during the Advent of Modernism,  
1920s-1950s*

AN AMERICAN SCHOLARLY TRADITION I

*Moderator:* Elisabeth Blair MacDougall, Harvard University (emerita)

Peter Fergusson, Wellesley College

*The Middle Ages: Ralph Adams Cram and Kenneth Conant*

Tod Marder, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

*Renaissance Architectural Historians in the United States*

Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, University of Pennsylvania

*East Asia: Architectural History across War Zones and Political Boundaries*

Renata Holod, University of Pennsylvania

*From Olana to the Nerangestan: Americans and the Architectures of the Islamic World*

AN AMERICAN SCHOLARLY TRADITION II

*Moderator:* William Jordy, Brown University (emeritus)

George Kubler, Yale University (emeritus)

*Architectural Historians before the Fact*

Dell Upton, University of California, Berkeley

*Outside the Academy: A Century of Vernacular Architecture Studies, 1890-1990*

SOME AMERICAN PERSONALITIES I

Lauren Bricker [University of California, Santa Barbara]

*The Writings of Fiske Kimball: A Synthesis of Architectural History and Practice*

Linda Seidel, The University of Chicago

*Arthur Kingsley Porter: An American Original and the Re-Vision of Romanesque*

Robert Wojtowicz [University of Pennsylvania]

*Lewis Mumford: The Architectural Critic as Historian*

SOME AMERICAN PERSONALITIES II

*Moderator:* Henry A. Millon, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

Helen Searing, Smith College

*Henry-Russell Hitchcock: The Architectural Historian as Critic and Connoisseur*

Eduard Sekler, Harvard University

*Sigfried Giedion at Harvard University*

RECENT THEMES

Suzanne Stephens, Barnard College

*Architecture Criticism and Its Role in Identifying Buildings of Historic Significance: The Case of Herbert Croly*

Richard Pommer, New York University, Institute of Fine Arts

*History in the Service of Architecture: Postmodernism and the Reappraisal of the Past*

20–21 January 1989

THE PASTORAL LANDSCAPE

Cosponsored with The Center for Renaissance and Baroque Studies,  
University of Maryland: held 20 January at the University of Maryland  
at College Park, 21 January at the National Gallery of Art

CLASSICAL ORIGINS

*Moderator:* Marie Spiro, University of Maryland

Bettina Bergmann, Mount Holyoke College

*Exploring the Grove: The Design of Sacred Space on Roman Walls*

Alfred Frazer, Columbia University

*The Roman Villa and Pastoral Poetry*

Eleanor Winsor Leach, Indiana University

*Polyphemus and Pastoral Self-consciousness*

REVIVAL IN RENAISSANCE MUSIC AND LITERATURE

*Moderator:* Richard Wexler, University of Maryland

Gary Tomlinson, University of Pennsylvania

*Pastoral and Musical Magic in the Birth of Opera*

Howard M. Brown, The University of Chicago

*The Madrigalian and the Formulaic in Andrea Gabrieli's Madrigals*

Louise George Clubb, University of California, Berkeley

*Pastoral Elasticity on the Italian Stage and Page*

Louise K. Horowitz, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey,  
Camden

*Pastoral Parenting: L'Astrée*

THE VISUAL TRADITION

*Moderator:* David Alan Brown, National Gallery of Art

W.R. Rearick, University of Maryland

*From Arcady to the Barnyard*

David Rosand, Columbia University

*Pastoral Topoi: On the Construction of Meaning in Landscape*

John A. Pinto, Princeton University

*Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli: Landscape and Antiquity*

THE PASTORAL TRADITION CONTINUED

*Moderator:* William L. Pressly, University of Maryland

Carolyn Abbate, Princeton University

*Pastoral and Symphony*

Jeremy Strick, National Gallery of Art

*The Pastoral Mode Reused in Modern Art: Some New Theories*

Leo Marx, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

*Does Pastoralism Have a Future?*

4 and 18 March 1989

AMERICAN ART AROUND 1900: LECTURES IN MEMORY OF DANIEL FRAAD, JR.

Cosponsored with The Metropolitan Museum of Art: held 4 March at the National Gallery of Art, 18 March at The Metropolitan Museum of Art

*Moderator:* Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr., National Gallery of Art

Doreen Bolger, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

*The American Painter and the Japanese Print*

Trevor Fairbrother, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

*The Genre Paintings of John Singer Sargent*

Linda S. Ferber, The Brooklyn Museum

*Stagestruck: The Theater Subjects of Everett Shinn*

*Moderator:* John K. Howat, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Kathleen A. Foster, The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts;

Indiana University Art Museum

*Realism or Impressionism: The Landscapes of Thomas Eakins*

Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr., National Gallery of Art

*Winslow Homer: Unfinished Business*

Franklin Kelly, The Corcoran Gallery of Art

*George Bellows' Shore House*

10–11 March 1989

THE ARTIST'S WORKSHOP

Cosponsored with The Johns Hopkins University

Mojmir Frinta, State University of New York at Albany

*Some Observations on the Trecento and Quattrocento Workshop*

Marianna S. Simpson, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

*The Making of Manuscripts and the Workings of the Kitab-khana in Sixteenth-Century Iran*

Hellmut Hager, The Pennsylvania State University

*Carlo Fontana: Pupil, Partner, Principal, Preceptor*

Peter Lukehart, George Mason University

*Delineating the Genoese Studio: giovani accartati or sotto padre*

John Rosenfield, Harvard University

*Japan: Tosa Workshop of the Mid-Seventeenth Century*

Larry Lutchmansingh, Bowdoin College

*The Arts and Crafts Workshop Between Tradition and Reform*

David Brownlee, University of Pennsylvania

*The Office of Sir Gilbert Scott*



1 April 1989

MIDDLE ATLANTIC SYMPOSIUM IN THE HISTORY OF ART:  
NINETEENTH ANNUAL SESSIONS

Cosponsored with the Department of Art History, University of  
Maryland

Introduction: Anne Weis

Michele Ciara Farrell [University of Pittsburgh]

*The Posthumous Images of Germanicus Caesar: An Unpublished Portrait in  
Brescia*

Introduction: Lawrence Goedde

Scott Crittenden [University of Virginia]

*The Moment of Choice in the Late Work of Rembrandt*

Introduction: Wayne Craven

Randall C. Griffin [University of Delaware]

*Thomas Cole's The Architect's Dream: Contemporary Dream Theory and  
the Concepts of Artistic Genius*

Introduction: John Peters-Campbell

Pamela Potter-Hennessey [University of Maryland]

*Winslow Homer's Civil War Paintings: Recurrent Preoccupations*

Introduction: Mary Pardo

Margaret Fitzgerald Farr [University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill]

*From Text to Image: The Interpretation of Vincent van Gogh and His Art*

Introduction: Melvin P. Lader

Martina Roudabush Norelli [George Washington University]

*Franz Marc's Animal Imagery: Studies in French Art*

Introduction: Craig Zabel

Kurt Pitluga [The Pennsylvania State University]

*Classicism, Penn State, and Charles Z. Klauder*

## *Seminars*

9 November 1989

### VERONESE RECONSIDERED

#### *Participants:*

Beverly Brown, National Gallery of Art  
David Bull, National Gallery of Art  
Richard Cocke, University of East Anglia  
Tracy Cooper, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts  
Maurice E. Cope, University of Delaware  
Diane DeGrazia, National Gallery of Art  
Philipp Fehl, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign  
Sydney Freedberg, National Gallery of Art  
Diana Gisolfi-Pechukas, Pratt Institute  
Peter Humfrey, Institute for Advanced Study  
Paul Kaplan, State University of New York, Purchase  
Douglas Lewis, National Gallery of Art  
Thomas Martin, University of Tulsa  
Terisio Pignatti, Civici Musei Veneziani d'Arte e di Storia  
W.R. Rearick, University of Maryland  
Inge Jackson Reist, Frick Collection  
David Rosand, Columbia University  
Günter Schweikhart, Kunsthistorisches Institut der Universität, Bonn  
Joy Allen Thorton, Arlington, Virginia





17 March 1989

CÉZANNE: THE EARLY YEARS, 1859-1872

*Participants:*

Nina Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, University of Delaware

Yve-Alain Bois, The Johns Hopkins University

Joyce Brodsky, University of Connecticut

Sarah Faunce, The Brooklyn Museum

Sidney Geist, New York City

Marjorie L. Harth, Galleries of the Claremont Colleges

Carol Solomon Kiefer, University of Pittsburgh

Mary Louise Krumrine, State College, Pennsylvania

Mary Thompkins Lewis, New York City

Patricia Mainardi, Brooklyn College, The City University of New York

Henry A. Millon, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

Charles S. Moffett, National Gallery of Art

John McCoubrey, University of Pennsylvania

Dianne Pitman, New York City

Joseph Rischel, Philadelphia Museum of Art

Jane Mayo Roos, Hunter College

Aaron Sheon, University of Pittsburgh

Richard Allen Shiff, University of Texas

Levi P. Smith, The University of Chicago

MaryAnne Stevens, Royal Academy of Arts, London

14–15 May 1989  
MEDIEVAL ORNAMENT

*Participants:*

Esin Atil, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery  
Irene Bierman, University of California, Los Angeles  
David R. Castriota, Duke University  
Massumeh Farhad, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts  
Oleg Grabar, Harvard University  
Eva R. Hoffman, Brookline, Massachusetts  
Renata Holod, University of Pennsylvania  
Ioli Kalavrezou, Dumbarton Oaks  
Anna Kartsonis, Institute for Advanced Study  
Herbert Kessler, The Johns Hopkins University  
Linda Seidel, The University of Chicago  
Marianna S. Simpson, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts  
Marie Spiro, University of Maryland  
James Trilling, Providence, Rhode Island  
William Tronzo, The Johns Hopkins University





*Colloquia LXXVIII–LXXXV*

15 November 1988

Robert Patten, Associate

*Diagrams of Drunkenness: George Cruikshank's Temperance Art*

15 December 1988

Caroline Bruzelius, Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow

*Kings, Queens, and Church Building in the Kingdom of Sicily, 1266-1343*

5 January 1989

Allan Ceen, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow

*Bufalini and the Imago Urbis: From the Iconic to the Topographic in Plans of Rome*

26 January 1989

Frederick Hartt, Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow

*Michelangelo—Imprint and Image*

2 February 1989

Joseph Levine, Paul Mellon Senior Fellow

*The Battle of the Books and English Architecture (1660-1730)*

23 March 1989

William Eisler, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow

*Celestial Harmonies and Hapsburg Rule: Levels of Meaning in a Triumphal Arch for Philip II (Antwerp 1549)*

6 April 1989

Sylvie Béguin, Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow

*Rosso Fiorentino: New Approaches to the French Period*

2 May 1989

Tod Marder, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow

*Bernini's Architecture*

## *Shop Talks*

1 December 1988

Marc Gotlieb, Samuel H. Kress Predoctoral Fellow

*From History to Genre: Studies in the Decline of French Salon Painting, 1850-1890*

2 March 1989

Annette Leduc, David E. Finley Predoctoral Fellow

*Gavarni's Human Comedy: The London Years (1847-1851) and Their Aftermath*

## *Curatorial Colloquy II*

16-17 May 1988

THE FEAST OF THE GODS

*Colloquy Chairs:*

David Alan Brown, National Gallery of Art

David Bull, National Gallery of Art

*Participant:*

Terisio Pignatti, Civici Musei Veneziani d'Arte e di Storia

*Others:*

Sydney J. Freedberg, National Gallery of Art (emeritus)

Beverly Louise Brown, National Gallery of Art



21–24 February 1989

## THE FEAST OF THE GODS

### *Colloquy Chairs:*

David Alan Brown, National Gallery of Art

David Bull, National Gallery of Art

### *Participants:*

Jaynie Louise Anderson, University of Oxford

Hans Belting, Universität München

Joyce Plesters Brommelle, National Gallery, London (emerita)

Rona Goffen, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

Hubertus F. von Sonnenburg, Bayerische

Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich

### *Others:*

Sylvie Béguin, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

Beverly Louise Brown, National Gallery of Art

Sydney J. Freedberg, National Gallery of Art (emeritus)

Gretchen Hirschauer, National Gallery of Art

Joseph Manca, National Gallery of Art

## *Lectures*

20 October 1988

Emily Vermeule

*The Drama of Death in Ancient Greece*

9 November 1988

Terisio Pignatti

*The Style of Paolo Veronese in the Sale dei Dieci, Palazzo Ducale  
(1553-1556)*

Lecture abstract appears on page 35.



## LECTURE ABSTRACT

TERISIO PIGNATTI

*The Style of Paolo Veronese in the Sale dei Dieci,  
Palazzo Ducale (1553-1556)*

In this lecture the activity of the painter Paolo Veronese in the three Sale dei Dieci, during the years 1553-1556, is reviewed. This masterpiece of Veronese's oeuvre was created early in his career, just after he had arrived in Venice from his native Verona. It is of great importance, therefore, to identify the various influences evident in the early development of the artist's style.

After the years spent in Verona where he was a pupil of Antonio Badile, Veronese turned toward the most current trends of the local mannerism. For example, similarities to Parmigianino's work are detectable in such paintings by Veronese as the *Pala Giustinian*, 1551, the first work done in Venice. The graceful elegance of the Parmesan mannerism is seen in other early paintings such as the *Bevilacqua altar* (Verona, Castelvechio, c. 1546), the *Magdalen* (National Gallery, London, c. 1550), and the *Christ Deposed in the Sepulchre* (recently published by the lecturer, from a private collection).

In 1552 with *The Temptation of St. Anthony*, painted for Mantua and now in Caen, Paolo turned toward a more muscular Romanism, inspired by Michelangelo and by the imposing foreshortening of Giulio Romano, as seen in Mantua at the Palazzo del Te. As a consequence of such basic formative elements, the style of Paolo in the subsequent Sale dei Dieci represented the fusion of Parmigianinism and Romanism, and offered a full vision of his maturity in drawing and color.

An attempt is made in this lecture to indicate with greater precision than has been done before the sources for the Dieci, from Vasari to Ridolfi. Also, exact identification is made of the twelve *Nudes* in chiaroscuro of the ceiling in the Udienza room, three of which appear to be autographs by Paolo, and of the *Cipro* and *Candia grisailles*. Finally, the most recent efforts of the iconographers are reviewed in order to explain the intricate meaning of the rooms and to make sense of Hope's proposal to identify in *Saturn* the so-called *Youth and Old Age*.



RESEARCH REPORTS OF MEMBERS

## RESEARCH REPORTS OF MEMBERS

The following research reports concern work accomplished by fellows of the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts in residence during the period June 1988 through July 1989. Additional reports are included by members whose fellowships ended as of August 1989. Remaining reports by Visiting Senior Fellows for the summer 1989 will appear in *Center 10*.

*Rosso Fiorentino Studies*

My stay at the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, as Kress Professor for 1988–1989, provided the possibility of finishing studies I had started in France, and also of pursuing new research.

My first work was to complete two small articles. One was a presentation of sketches by the neoclassical Italian painter Félice Giani, a paper written for a 1988 symposium in connection with the exhibition "*Schizzi, Bozzetti*," organized by the Fondazione Lungarotti (Torgiano, Perugia). The second article, dealing with a southern Italian painter of the cinquecento, Pietro Negroni, is dedicated to the late Giovanni Previtali [Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1986] in recognition of Previtali's pioneering research in Neopolitan cinquecento painting. My paper, to be published by *Prospettiva* in 1989, included some new paintings and drawings by this eccentric, interesting artist who was deeply influenced by Polidoro da Caravaggio.

The initial two months of my stay were concerned mainly with the final editing of my paper on Andrea del Sarto in France, given in 1988 at the Fondazione Roberto Longhi, Florence, at the time of the *Andrea del Sarto Centenary* exhibition. The text presents some new evidence for the beautiful Andrea del Sarto paintings in the Louvre, focusing especially on the famous *Charity*; the painting is studied relative to its *commanditaire*, the King of France, François I<sup>er</sup>, who ordered it from the Florentine painter in 1518. Much has already been written about this masterpiece, but no one in my opinion has ever convincingly said why François I<sup>er</sup> asked Andrea to paint it. I propose an explanation related to the personality of the French monarch and the special time in his official and private life in the year 1518 when it was commissioned. This study will be published by the review *Paragone* in September 1989. During these first months I also prepared a paper presented at a symposium, "Studies in Renaissance Art: Rosso Fiorentino," organized by the Courtauld Institute and the National Gallery of Art, London, in December 1988.

My main research in 1989 dealt with many points raised in the London paper and new ones related to them. The National Gallery exhibition, *Rosso Fiorentino Drawings, Prints, and Decorative Arts*, organized by Eugene A. Carroll, became the starting point for a new look at Rosso's art at Fontainebleau. The main axis of my study was to investigate neglected sources of information (such as literary texts, copies, and unknown paintings) and also to connect works of art with their milieu, that is, with the particular political and intellectual atmosphere at the court of François I<sup>er</sup>.

As I did with the *Charity* by Andrea del Sarto, I again tried to demonstrate the close connection in Rosso's works of art with royal iconography and the deep religious feelings of the "most Christian King of France," a title specially dear to François I<sup>er</sup>. This idea sheds a new light on an unknown portrait of the king, lost or perhaps never executed, that is preserved in a sixteenth-century copy of a drawing, probably for a painting dated circa 1534, certainly after Rosso (location unknown). One other early work of

the artist, *Saint Peter and Saint Paul*, is known through two prints, an etching and engraving. In my opinion the first one, bearing the royal coat of arms, is anterior to the second one attributed by Carroll to Boyvin, and probably executed by someone from his circle. More important, the *Saint Peter and Saint Paul*, a beautiful Rosso invention, is very interesting to consider in relation to the peculiar religious problems of the time and the personal attitude of the king toward the reformists. A suggestion for the decoration of such a work is also presented. The motifs included in it are not ornamental, as has been said, but emblematic and related to the king's iconography, which was deeply influenced by his beloved mother, Louise de Savoie and her advisers (the Franciscans, Thénau and Demoulin).

But the most important part of my study is related to the main enterprise of Rosso in France, La Galerie François I<sup>er</sup> at Fontainebleau. I suggest that a drawing, which is a copy of a lost motif in the Cabinet de la Sémélé (north side of the Galerie) destroyed in the eighteenth century, indicates a new interpretation of the famous cabinet, according to the iconography retraced in the drawing (location unknown). Another new iconographic contribution to the Galerie is provided, in my opinion, by Doni and Toscanella's texts recently analyzed by Lina Bolzoni. In an article in 1982 and in a book published in 1984, she has shown that the two authors quoted (even sometimes plagiarized) Giulio Camillo Delminio. The humanist, perhaps "charlatan," was a *favori* at the court of François I<sup>er</sup>, who hoped that Delminio would reveal to him the secret of his Memory Theater. Finally the disillusioned king got rid of him. I believe the participation of Delminio at the Galerie, especially in the *Cleobis and Biton* fresco, may be established from these texts. Delminio's influence can be traced in other parts of the Galerie, but the most interesting new approach to the Galerie seems to me the recent discovery of the *Bacchus and Venus*, in the Musée du Grand Duché de Luxembourg. This large and damaged painting corresponds to the description given by Vasari in Rosso's *Life* (1568) for one of the first two paintings executed by Rosso for François I<sup>er</sup> in France before the arrival of Primaticcio (1532). That they were hung in the Galerie François I<sup>er</sup> on the east and west walls was unknown until now. A drawing by the architect François d'Orbay (1782) and the painting in Luxembourg give precious information about the east wall of the Galerie where the *Bacchus and Venus* was located. The condition of the painting is unfortunately poor, and it is difficult to affirm its complete originality; however, its relation to Rosso and its quality are still evident.

These findings raise some iconological problems related to efforts to define the courtly art Rosso brought to France and displayed in the Galerie François I<sup>er</sup>. In this new light, Rosso appears to have been not only the creator of a new conception of decorative art, but also the creator of the School of Fontainebleau's erotic and refined art. His influence on Primaticcio and his followers becomes apparent in my discussion. My studies on Rosso will be published in the *Burlington Magazine*, the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, and *Print Quarterly*.

Musée du Louvre, Paris  
Samuel H. Kress Professor, 1988-1989

## CONSTANCE BERMAN

### *Construction of Churches and Financial Stability of Cistercian Women's Houses in the Ecclesiastical Province of Sens: 1200–1350*

The ecclesiastical province of Sens provides an excellent example of the rapid expansion of women's houses of the Cistercian order in the thirteenth century—an expansion rarely remarked, although it paralleled that of men's houses in the province a century earlier during the lifetime of Bernard of Clairvaux. Twenty houses for women were founded between 1204 and 1252, in addition to two before 1200; by comparison, eighteen houses of Cistercian monks were established between 1114 and 1181. A concern with whether building was a major drain on the fragile resources of Cistercian houses for women has led me to investigate architectural programs and expenditures as part of a wider study of these women's religious communities. Although they flourished in the thirteenth century, nearly a third of the women's houses in the province had been suppressed by the end of the Middle Ages; my study seeks to discover whether suppression was the result of internal difficulties or of changes in the religious and political climate that no longer favored women religious.

Financial circumstances varied considerably among women's Cistercian houses in the region. Royal foundations were more secure and royal gifts to other houses were often important in completing construction. The three largest houses in the vicinity of Paris—St. Antoine des Champs (built 1233), Maubuisson (built 1244), Port-Royal (built 1230s)—seem to have thrived, perhaps because urban growth and inflation in property values insulated them from the financial difficulties of the later Middle Ages. As we know from surviving plans, prints, and drawings, these great houses near Paris, whose churches have all been razed, had the most complex of the women's churches in plan: with apsidal chevets, multiple chapels, and possibly three-story elevations and flying buttresses. These three houses and Blanche of Castile's foundation of Lys, near Melun (built c. 1244), were exceptionally large and complex, but even these four great abbeys and their churches were more modest in size than men's houses built or expanded at about the same time in the region.

Funds for building in most cases came from income, which for women's houses was invariably less than for men's. Moreover, costs of construction for such women's communities may have been higher than they had been for equivalent communities of men, because women's houses did not have large numbers of lay brothers available for the rough labor of construction. Especially for the smaller rural women's houses, construction of permanent stone church and conventual buildings may have constituted an overwhelming expense.

The style of these churches is not that of the archetypal Fontenay. Ruins at Lys near Melun, Belleau east of Troyes (built 1260s?), and La Cour Notre Dame near Sens (built 1260s) show the adoption of certain elements of Gothic: tracery rose windows, lancets, and ribbed vaulting, even com-

pound transept piers at Lys. Drawings of possibly surviving ruins of churches at Les Clairets, Lieu-lez-Romorantin, and Eau-lez-Chartres suggest Gothic elements in these as well. All were tempered by the austere retention of plain walls, flat apses, and wall buttressing which we associate with Cistercian architecture. Few firm conclusions about cost can be made from such stylistic traces. Although vaults would have been lighter in the thirteenth century, they may also have been higher. Only by measuring wall dimensions and calculating vault heights can amounts of stone necessary for construction be compared with those of neighboring Cistercian houses for men built in the twelfth century or to those for men built north of Paris in the thirteenth century.

Records for Blanche of Castile's expenditures for certain years of construction at Maubuisson have survived, but only excerpts have been published and they may distort her role. There is insufficient detail in what I have seen so far to tie expenditures to specific aspects of the building campaign, or to project from such records the entire cost of this abbey. Moreover, the example of Maubuisson is unusual not only because it was exceptionally large, but because only here is there clear evidence of a patron undertaking to build church, refectory, dormitory, other conventual buildings, and wall around the entire complex. With the exception of the Maubuisson records, few surviving documents for these Cistercian houses directly relate to construction and architecture, although abundant charter evidence for a number of houses survives. From charters it is possible to reconstruct approximate annual income; search for grants of quarries or wood for construction, gifts at dedication ceremonies, gifts of indulgences, and the foundation of chapels. From references to architectural details, carpenters, masons, and other construction workers, inferences can be made about construction.

This study is expected to show that Cistercian women's churches of the thirteenth century, while maintaining modest size and simplicity typical of the order's earlier churches, shared a number of stylistic details with the more elaborate and monumental *rayonnant*-style Cistercian churches of the Ile-de-France, which were built by the larger men's houses in the thirteenth century. This suggests that Cistercian abbots and monks may have aided in the planning and oversight of construction for the women's houses, which would be in keeping with the relationship of many of these women's houses to the order; but no documentary evidence for such collaboration has yet been found. While it is clear that the costs of construction would have been difficult for the smaller women's communities to absorb, I find no conclusive evidence, as has been suggested elsewhere, that overly ambitious architectural programs per se were the cause of these communities' decline.

University of Iowa  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1989

*Nationalism and Design: Analogies and Links between the Arts and Crafts Revivals in Ireland and America, c. 1880–1925*

A detailed study of the applied arts and design at the turn of this century on both sides of the Atlantic is bound to reflect English design reform and the resultant arts and crafts movement, with its concern for the nature and use of materials, as much as the aesthetic movement and japonisme. A further dimension is the widespread preoccupation with nationalism and the vernacular expression of an iconography based on nostalgia for a mythical past. In Ireland, as in Hungary, this was fueled by revolutionary idealism; for different reasons artists in both countries found a potent form of expression in stained glass. The best Irish artists in this field became particularly renowned and influential in America.

Since Robert Judson Clark's pioneering exhibition in 1972, *The Arts and Crafts Movement in America, 1876-1916*, this international movement and seminal ideology have been given detailed scholarly attention in exhibitions and publications focusing on some of the communities in America where the movement flourished. During my two-month fellowship at the Center for Advanced Study, I consulted contemporary sources as well as material published over the past ten years. In Washington, the reference library at the National Gallery together with the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century sources in the Library of Congress, proved invaluable. The library at the Smithsonian's National Museum of American Art and Archives of American Art provided biographical and contextual references and led me to unexpected key sources. I was able to examine extensive plans and records of the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition and the 1904 St. Louis fair, which played key roles in the formation of the Arts and Crafts Society of Ireland, as did the Boston Arts and Crafts Society. A systematic study of the society's extensive archives and publications in the Boston Public Library as well as relevant dissertations and primary material in the Boston Athenaeum, the Houghton Library, and the Charles J. Connick Archives proved fruitful, along with research into the Daniel Chester French Archive in Washington. I uncovered a good deal of material published in America on major patrons, theorists, and protagonists of the Irish movement, often in periodicals of which I had been unaware, and was able to follow up several interesting connections directly or by analogy between artists, architects, sculptors, and craftsmen in Ireland and America.

Links emerged also through communications with the Delaware Art Museum, the Chicago Historical Society, the Art Institute of Chicago, the Cranbrook Academy of Art Museum, the Stained Glass Association of America, and the Mitchell Wolfson Foundation for Decorative and Propaganda Arts in Miami. Further material awaits investigation in California, Chicago, Detroit, New York, and Boston. Contemporary movements in Ireland can now be seen in the light of similar forbears and successors in America as well as in Britain and other parts of Europe. Parallel preoccupations are apparent in the pitfalls of plagiarism and in the nature of



Harry Clarke, *The Watchman of Ovada*, 1913, inscribed  
Ballsbridge May 26 to 31, 1913; David Clarke Collection

revivalism in design; the encouragement of labor in local industries; the integrity of racial culture interpreted in a “modern” idiom; the role of education with its inherent concern for health in the material and moral environment. I was able to compare and contrast the ideals and achievements of educational establishments, societies (particularly those run by or for women), and exhibitions, fairs, and periodicals through contemporary sources in which more frequent reference to the Irish movement was made than I had hitherto encountered. The literary, political, and socioeconomic climate of the Celtic revival in Ireland was well documented in America at the time, and has been thoroughly reexamined in recent years; its visual counterpart, relatively ignored by present-day historians, should now receive similar attention.

This research has considerably enriched material for the book I am preparing on the arts and crafts revival in Ireland in the context of national romanticism and design, and through it I have made contacts and connections on which I shall continue to build.

National College of Art and Design, Dublin  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1988

*The Churches of the Angevin Kings of Naples, 1266-1343*

The first months of my tenure were spent, as anticipated, on the documents on Charles of Anjou's two Cistercian foundations in southern Italy, the abbeys of Realvalle and Vittoria. These documents are not the internal records of the abbeys, which have been lost in their entirety, but rather copies of royal registers concerning their foundation and construction that have been recorded from the Angevin Registers (once in the Archives of Naples but gratuitously destroyed in the last war). I was particularly concerned with the documents on the foundation of the abbeys (simultaneously), organization of workshops, and the question of the degree to which there appeared to be Cistercian master builders and Cistercian master plans. Though far from finished with these questions, I can safely state that although the organizational structure of the two abbeys was generally the same, the character of each workshop was quite different: at Realvalle the master builder was from the outset a layman, while at Vittoria the master was almost certainly one of the Cistercian monks originally sent from France to help establish the new foundation. At the abbey of Vittoria, which has been excavated, there is evidence to suggest that the Cistercian monks brought with them a copy of a plan that had been used at other Cistercian sites in France. In the absence of excavations, no such conclusions can yet be drawn for the sister house of Realvalle. An analysis of the administrative manpower of the abbeys suggests that the organizational structure of these two royal programs was quite flexible, and was adjusted to the abilities and training of the available workmen. There was, in general, difficulty in finding both skilled and unskilled labor, and many masons were brought from France and elsewhere.

The documents on Vittoria and Realvalle provide much evidence concerning the nationalities, salaries, and skills of the workmen. Though much of the skilled labor (for example, the carving of capitals) was executed by Frenchmen, Italian masons were also frequently employed at the sites, including some whose work is known from Frederician building programs. The Angevin Registers give a great deal of detailed information on salaries, working conditions at the building sites, and various problems related to labor, such as absenteeism.

Charles of Anjou's Cistercian abbeys were among the first churches founded by the French in southern Italy. The church of Santa Chiara, on the other hand, was founded by Robert of Anjou and Sancia of Mallorca toward the end of the period I have defined. My recent work on this monument was inspired by an article on a painting in the Getty Museum associated with the circle of Robert and Sancia: as I reflected on the article it occurred to me that the architecture of Sancia's foundation of Santa Chiara might also be interpreted as a response to the debates on Franciscan poverty that had particular significance in Naples in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. This second line of inquiry has led to rather unexpected and fruitful results: I think it can be demonstrated that the



Santa Chiara, Naples, c. 1310–1328, view of nave.  
Author photograph 1989

design of Santa Chiara is at least in part a response to the intensely polemical discussions on the reform of the church and the eschatological program of the new age of the Holy Spirit prophesied by Joachim of Fiore. The inspiring force in the foundation of the convent and the creation of the program can be attributed to Sancia of Mallorca for a number of reasons, but my work on her patronage has been frustrated by the limited number of studies on Sancia herself and on the virtual absence of any work on the architecture of Franciscan houses of the Second Order (the Clarissas).

As a fellow I was grateful for the resources of the library and the energetic assistance of the Interlibrary Loan Office. It was also very useful to be able to take advantage of the holdings of the Johns Hopkins University Library, which is strong in Italian history, including a long series of the early volumes of the *Archivio Storico per le Provincie Napoletane*.

Duke University  
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, fall 1988

*Rectification of the 1551 Plan of Rome by Leonardo Bufalini*

The most useful map for studying the topography, urban development, and architecture of Rome is the 1748 *Pianta Grande di Roma* by Giambattista Nolli. In addition to the twelve plates which constitute his *Pianta Grande*, Nolli printed two more plans of the city: one was the reduced version of his large plan, and the other was a reedition of the 1551 plan of Rome by Leonardo Bufalini reproduced to about the same scale as the reduced Nolli plan. By including the Bufalini plan in his work, Nolli was able to show by contrast how his own image of Rome was far more advanced than that of his sixteenth-century predecessor. At the same time, however, Nolli paid homage to the creator of the first orthogonal plan of the city since antiquity.

Bufalini deserved Nolli's tribute because his work seems to be without precedent. His map represents the contemporary city in extensive detail, with every street and square shown in addition to persuasive reconstruction plans of the ancient monuments.

Scholars often reproduce details of the Bufalini plan to illustrate particular buildings or areas of Renaissance Rome. However, they rarely deal consistently or specifically with the topography shown by Bufalini because his plan is a very distorted and irregular one. Angles are wrong, buildings do not line up correctly with one another, streets are lengthened or shortened, and whole areas are expanded or compressed. There is no consistent scale to the map.

Nonetheless, Bufalini supplies much useful information about the street-net of the city: every block is defined in clear, if deformed, outlines. Churches and palazzi are indicated with conventional symbols and labeled, sometimes incorrectly. Since much of this topographic information is unobtainable from other sources, it was worthwhile to attempt a rectification of the Bufalini plan in order to produce an accurate topographical plan of Rome in 1551.

The technique used to rectify the plan was to superimpose Bufalini's data onto Nolli's precise 1748 plan, street by street and block by block. Fixed landmarks such as ancient monuments, unchanged churches, and easily identifiable streets were entered first. Next the more difficult, but still unchanged, streets and blocks were sorted out, often requiring considerable stretching and repositioning of elements. Last, the areas that had undergone reshaping or rebuilding in the two hundred years between Bufalini and Nolli were reconstructed. This required the use of many different sources from as close to Bufalini's time as possible. Contemporary plans of buildings with a few neighboring streets were obtained from secondary sources. Views of streets and squares such as those of Van Heemskerck and Dosio were used to make sense of some of Bufalini's more intricately depicted areas. The only overall maps of the city by near contemporaries of Bufalini were view-maps such as those by Dosio (1555?), Pacciotti (1557), Cartaro (1576), and especially Duperac (1577). The main

difficulty with using these to integrate Bufalini's data is that they are no more accurate than Bufalini's. Indeed most of them were at least partially derived from his plan.

The result of this effort is a set of twelve sheets (drawn to the same scale as the Nolli plan: 1:2900) depicting the street-net of Rome in 1551. It will be refined as more drawings of localized areas of the city emerge from the archives, but even in its present state useful information on the city's development emerges. Superimposed on Nolli, all the planning between 1551 and 1748 becomes apparent. New neighborhoods such as Borgo Pio and Pantano emerge as sets of surviving streets providing the framework and design initiative for new ones. The new city-spanning streets of Sixtus V become more intelligible as replacements for preexisting but less direct connections between the major churches. The replanning of areas such as the one between the theater of Marcellus and Santa Maria in Cosmedin, hitherto unremarked, stands out immediately.

Closer examination of the combined Bufalini-Nolli map reveals intricate reciprocal relationships between architecture and its setting. Bernini's design for Piazza San Pietro and the Scala Regia emerges not as an invasion of the urban texture of Borgo, but as a remarkable acceptance and imaginative use of the preexisting elements, chief among them being the axis of Borgo Nuovo. Similar relationships emerge between the Campidoglio complex and Via and Piazza d'Aracoeli, and in numerous other examples. It is the study of these relationships, as well as the analysis of the urban development of the city between 1551 and 1748, that the rectified Bufalini plan should make possible.

Cornell University in Rome; American Overseas School of Rome  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1988-1989

*El patrocinio artístico de Felipe II de España*

El largo reinado de Felipe II (1555-1598) ha sido objeto de continua controversia historiográfica prácticamente desde los tiempos del fallecimiento de su protagonista; sin embargo, hoy día, y pasados los radicalismos de uno y otro signo, la discusión parece haber entrado definitivamente por los caminos de la sensatez.

Con todo, un tema como el de Felipe II como patrono de las artes todavía no ha encontrado la estima historiográfica merecida. Apenas unas líneas y, en el mejor de los casos, un corto capítulo en la biografía del Rey o alusiones circunstanciales en los estudios o monografías dedicados a los artistas que para él trabajaron, es todo lo que podemos esperar. Aun hoy día la imagen de Felipe II “als kunstfreund” estudiada por Justi en el siglo pasado continua siendo la más atendida.

Por ello, una de las primeras líneas de investigación abiertas en este tiempo ha sido la del estudio de la consideración historiográfica y bibliográfica de Felipe II como patrono de las artes con los escasos resultados comentados. De ellos se deduce no sólo la necesidad de afrontar el asunto de manera directa, sino de hacerlo con criterios que respondan a una historiografía renovada.

Establecida la necesidad de un estudio de este importante tema los puntos cuyo tratamiento se ha iniciado serían los siguientes. En primer lugar hay que considerar la imagen plástica que el Rey quiso dar de sí mismo a sus súbditos y a la posteridad. Desde este punto de vista, el ejemplo de su padre, el Emperador Carlos V, resulta fundamental. El arquetipo de héroe cristiano que en torno a este personaje fabricaron artistas, cortesanos e intelectuales resultó decisivo para su hijo quien, como sucedió en los casos de Tiziano, Moro o Leoni, no dejó de emplear a los mismos artistas que su progenitor. Junto a ello, la idea que mejor retrata una imagen específica de Felipe II es, junto a la importancia de los tópicos del Rey como Apolo-Sol o del Monarca como varón justo y sabio y Nuevo Salomón, la del Rey oculto, distanciado y apartado de sus súbditos. A ello obedecen tanto unas determinadas tipologías arquitectónicas palaciegas —que encuentran su culminación en la zona del palacio de El Escorial—, como un tipo de retrato deliberadamente frío y distanciado que, formulado por Moro, estará en la base de la escuela retratística formada en la corte española (Coello, Pantoja de la Cruz) y que no se superará hasta los tiempos de Velázquez. Nuestra investigación trata de establecer las analogías y diferencias de estos retratos (a los que habría que añadir los escultóricos de Pompeo Leoni) con el modo de retrato cortesano de Europa a fines del siglo XVI, en lugares como Inglaterra, Francia o la Corte Imperial.

El segundo punto básico de nuestra investigación ha sido el del establecimiento claro y preciso de los gustos artísticos de Felipe II. Con él se instala en España un tipo de coleccionismo a gran escala (el megacoleccionismo del que habla Brown) en el que, junto a pinturas y esculturas, es necesario considerar las colecciones de armas, la biblioteca, los aparatos

científicos y los más diversos objetos. Otra vez esta *Wunderkammer* ha de ponerse en relación con las contemporáneas de Praga, Viena o Florencia, como ya en su momento indicó Lomazzo; esta comparación ha sido uno de los puntos básicos de nuestras investigaciones.

Respecto a las pinturas se han tratado de superar las ideas, ya muy conocidas, de Felipe II como amante de obras de Tiziano o El Bosco, para profundizar en su vasto coleccionismo de otros pintores, fundamentalmente flamencos. Felipe II y la pintura del Norte es sin duda uno de los aspectos más atractivos del mecenazgo regio. Desde flamencos del siglo XV como Van der Weyden, a pintores como Jan Massys, Patinir, Coecke van Aelst, Floris o Coxcie, sin olvidar su interés por la obra gráfica de Durero, estos artistas forman uno de los grupos más compactos en los intereses artísticos de la corte española. De igual manera se ha tratado de profundizar no sólo en lo que estos artistas suponen desde el punto de vista del gusto estético, sino también en su importancia como estímulos de una singular piedad religiosa; estas "kultusbilden" son imprescindibles para conocer un aspecto de la imagen sagrada hasta ahora no estudiado en profundidad.

El carácter internacional del mecenazgo filipino se completa con la obra de los artistas italianos a su servicio (Zuccaro, Tibaldi, Cambiaso . . .), así como la influencia que éstos ejercieron en determinados españoles (el venecianismo de Navarrete o el romanismo de Gaspar Becerra). Con estos artistas, así como con, naturalmente, Tiziano, asistimos tanto al fenómeno de la importancia del coleccionismo de obras de tema profano, como al de una imagen decorativa de palacios, residencias y edificios religiosos, que igualmente ha de verse, como ha tratado de hacerse, muy en contacto con los grandes programas italianos del siglo XVI. La gloria y el poder del rey se expresan, tanto a través de los retratos ya comentados, como por medio de amplios ciclos de frescos y conjuntos escultóricos sólo conocidos muchas veces por medio de documentos literarios (con la excepción de los conservados en El Escorial), que hace necesario el cotejo con las obras italianas de estos artistas.

En suma, los primeros resultados del trabajo (que se concretará en una biografía artística de Felipe II, ya que es el Rey el punto de unión de artistas y obras de la más diversa procedencia) nos deja aparecer una imagen europea del patrocinio monárquico muy similar en gustos y preocupaciones a la de muchos de sus contemporáneos, de forma que cada vez parece más lejano el persistente tópico de Felipe II observado a través de sus aspectos más "oscuros" que, iniciado en los escritos de su secretario Antonio Pérez, alcanzó su culminación en la Europa liberal y romántica de Schiller y Giuseppe Verdi.

Universidad Complutense, Madrid  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1988

*Australia–America: Art and National Identity in the Nineteenth Century—A Comparative Study*

In the nineteenth century, Australian and American painting alike followed a course of periodically varying dependence on European influences: each tradition was set against a background of developing national identity. Notwithstanding divergent social, political, and economic circumstances at times in the two countries and America's longer history, there is remarkable chronological parity between their respective art histories. As the English-trained John Glover (arrived 1831) was discovering Van Diemen's Land (later called Tasmania), Thomas Clark and Asher B. Durand were establishing the first indigenous American landscape school in the Hudson River environs. Eugène von Guérard sought out distant, wild, and romantic scenery, just as Albert Bierstadt did in the United States. Both artists were students in Düsseldorf within a few years of each other. Intense national chauvinism was in the air. Increased popular interest in art was manifest in exhibitions and sales, art unions, new museums, and journal literature. Writers and thinkers called for "national" subject matter; and artists' choices and treatments of subject became symbols of proud national self-confidence. Arthur Streeton's *Golden Summer*, Tom Roberts' *Shearing the Rams*, Frederick McCubbin's *Pioneer*—like Church's *Niagara*, Winslow Homer's country lads and cotton pickers, and Remington's nostalgically documented cowboys—remain to this day indelible emblems of national identity.

Paradoxically, perhaps, as the "New World" landscapes grew more familiar, as artists focused on more intimate and subtle details of land, sea, and sky, they also became increasingly aware of recent currents in European painting. Australia, still firmly attached to Great Britain by colonial apron strings, always had less firsthand artistic intercourse with France. Nevertheless, Barbizon-style canvases by the influential French-trained Swiss emigré, Abram Louis Buvelot, provide a close parallel for those of William Morris Hunt or George Inness in the 1860s and 1870s. Interestingly, Hunt's teaching doctrine evidently appealed to the younger generation of Australian students frustrated by the local art schools' uninspiring academic curricula. And it was a visiting American art critic, Sidney Dickinson, who first used the collective label "the Heidelberg school" for the leading younger painters working *en plein air*, mainly in the outer Melbourne suburb of that name and later on the shores of Sydney Harbor. The protagonists of the Heidelberg school interpreted a beloved landscape after decades of settlement. The first to tackle the challenge of a light so clear and brilliant that it sucked the color from the surroundings, these artists were influenced by Whistlerian aestheticism at least as much as by French impressionism. Like their American contemporaries, many of this generation journeyed to Europe in the later 1870s and 1880s, partly to study, partly to pit themselves against the best of the old world. By the 1890s, the epithet "national" referred not to subject matter alone but to the new nations'

artistic coming of age, taking their rightful place in the long and continuous traditions of Western art. Twentieth-century relationships are both more complex and diverse, but insufficiently investigated. Landscape, and especially the theme of figure-in-landscape, is one constant but dynamic presence in both American and Australian painting: the obsession with the environment which first inspired the early native landscape schools gave rise later to the examination by artists of city life and urban problems. Indeed it may be argued that modernism made its way in both American and Australian art significantly through landscape.

Most Australians know virtually nothing about American art and art history (hardly any historical painting is ever exhibited in Australia); and Americans probably know even less about Australian art. My ultimate aim is a publication documenting the specific parallels—and significant differences—between Australian and American nineteenth-century painting and an exhibition which could travel to one or more art museums in each country. My sixty days as an associate at the Center was part of twenty-one months' research in the United States as a Harkness Fellow, sponsored by the Commonwealth Fund. The project originated in earlier work on a major Australian touring exhibition of the Heidelberg school and contemporaries, *Golden Summers: Heidelberg and Beyond* (1985-1986). Because I am also spending parts of my Harkness tenure at the National Museum of American Art and as an intern at the Metropolitan Museum, I focused my research at the Center particularly on the shared European context of American and Australian art. As well as extensive bibliographical research and some preliminary shaping of the proposed exhibition, I concentrated on contemporary literature: authors such as Cole, Durand, Tucker, Jarves, Benjamin, Koehler, and Garland, to name a few; memoirs such as Low's and Simmons'; and certain periodicals.

Specific Australian-American contacts pursued included a number of artists who met while studying in Europe or at artists' colonies at Barbizon, Brittany, Normandy, and Cornwall (Monet thought John Peter Russell was an American when they painted together on Belle-Ile!); Australians Henry Gritten, George Frederick Folingsby, and Aby Altson in America; Frederic Schell, W. T. Smedley, and Lowell Birge Harrison's work in Australia; Australian paintings in America (at Philadelphia in 1876 and Chicago in 1893 for example); and American art collected in Australia (for instance, by Thomas W. Stanford).

At the end of two months, my main achievements are the collection of an enormous amount of data, now awaiting analysis and interpretation; a substantially revised view of certain aspects of Australian art history; and considerable narrowing of areas for further investigation.

National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne  
Associate, winter 1988-1989

*The Christian Contribution to Mughal Painting*

The importance of the European influence on Mughal art is generally acknowledged today, after the studies of scholars such as Percy Brown, Edward Maclagan, Felix zu Löwenstein, and Richard Ettinghausen. This influence is unmistakable in the landscape backgrounds, the interest in atmosphere and perspective, the appearance of the halo and winged figures, the treatment of drapery, the sunset and cloud effects, the greater naturalism of living figures, and the representations of the Madonna and Child. The recent *Festival of India* held in the United States and in Europe helped to draw attention to east-west contacts in the sphere of Mughal painting, and to possibilities of further research in this field.

Most of those currently engaged in the study of Mughal painting are authorities on art and aesthetics, and have approached their subject principally from the standpoint of these disciplines. There is room for a deeper and wider study of the historical and religious context of the Christian contribution to Mughal painting, which began with the arrival of the first



*The Holy Family*, Mughal School, 1585–1590, Free Library of Philadelphia, Rare Book Department, John Frederick Lewis Collection

Jesuit missionaries at the court of the Emperor Akbar in 1580 and continued during the seventeenth century. How the Christian works of art from Europe were selected and transported to the Mughal court; the financial aspects of the related transactions; the manner in which Christian paintings and engravings were copied, imitated, and disseminated in India; whether they played a role in the doctrinal disputes of the time, whether European artists worked in India—these are some of the questions that must be addressed. My past work in the field of Jesuit letters and accounts from India, which contain reports of the introduction of European paintings into the Mughal empire, leads me to believe that more historical data of value can still be culled from those documents and other contemporary records.

During the two months spent at the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts I have worked along three principal lines: (a) I discussed my theme with art historians and experts in Washington, Baltimore, New York, and Boston, and have made contacts further afield; (b) I viewed collections of Mughal paintings in the above cities, visited special exhibitions, and attended lectures and symposia related to my subject; (c) I did a good deal of reading in art libraries, and with the aid of a computer search gathered bibliographical data.

There is a great amount of research yet to be done, and which I should begin in the near future. I wish to view as many collections of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Mughal paintings in America and in Europe as possible. In India itself I someday hope to study the private collections of the erstwhile princely houses. As others have noted before me, there exist many Mughal pictures of Christian inspiration, but unfortunately this corpus has not yet been fully studied, nor catalogued and published as a separate whole.

More immediately, I propose to conduct research in the Jesuit archives in Rome, particularly among the seventeenth-century Jesuit letters from India, most of which remain unpublished, unlike those of the sixteenth century which have appeared in Josef Wicki's monumental *Documenta Indica*. Similarly, the archives in Lisbon and Goa, where I have already done some work, must be carefully examined for documents bearing on the subject. More information is also to be sought from Indian sources, which have received less attention than European sources.

For a true appreciation of Mughal art it is important to analyze the various influences that shaped it, not only the Persian Islamic and the Indian Hindu, but also the European Christian. The Christian influence was most notable in the seventeenth century, when Mughal painting reached new heights, and it affected the lives of the court and the people in the empire. Modern Indian artists, too, have drawn inspiration from the Mughal school of painting, which is hence all the more worthy of study.

The Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture, Bombay  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1989

MARK CRINSON

*Victorian Architecture in the Near East, 1840–1870*

In 1845 the British residents in Alexandria decided to build a neo-Islamic church in the main square of the city. The building, designed by James Wild, was surrounded by the neoclassical consulates and hotels of the European community. In 1861 Austen Layard prompted T. L. Donaldson to make a neo-Islamic design for a consulate on a neighboring site. Both Wild's and Donaldson's designs figured in a debate about the appropriate form and style of British buildings in the colonies. This debate laid the groundwork for the Indo-Saracenic style that was to dominate British architecture in India from the 1870s to the early 1900s.

Yet for the British, building in Alexandria was a very different proposition from building in India or Britain. By the midcentury Britain had established what has been called an informal empire in the Near East. British communities were small and located in the key Mediterranean ports: Istanbul, Alexandria, and Izmir. They had neither the administrative apparatus typical of British India (such as a public works department) nor direct political influence. They were in a position of constant diplomatic rivalry with the French and Russians, and one of some disadvantage to the Italian communities who usually controlled the local building industry. There was little continuity or accumulation of practical knowledge between building projects. Architects, often with no previous experience in the area, had to research available skills and materials, local prices, and contractual arrangements against a background of inflation and rapid urbanization.

There was furthermore the matter of the representational content of these buildings. Were they meant to address and identify the local British community, or the government in London; particular religious interests in Britain, or the local Jewish and Muslim populations; the British public who funded the building, or a local ruler who granted the site? A neo-Islamic style in the Near East carried different associational meaning than it did in Britain. It differed even from its more innovative use, seen for example in the work of Owen Jones, who offered neo-Islam as one answer to the conundrum of nineteenth-century style. In the Near East the use of such a style by a British architect—even one as close to Jones as James Wild—inevitably acquired political meanings. Was it, contemporaries asked, a symbol of Islam's "leading into captivity" or did it signal a lack of confidence? Was it an attempt to establish some sense of continuity with Islamic artistic tradition and employ its skills, or was it a way to address an ideal Muslim public through links with local history? Even if a Gothic Revival style was chosen (as in the Crimean Memorial Church, Istanbul, or Christ Church, Jerusalem), how could it be read as a symbol of alliance, missionary intent, and nationality? What were the orientalist elements necessary to these various functions, and how might these be drawn into the taut web of ecclesiology? And what of the neoclassical style used by William James Smith for several British consular buildings in Istanbul?

In the last year I have attempted to address these questions not through

the research of particular figures and building histories typical of my case studies, but instead through the discourses of orientalism. In the 1840s a sudden glut of accounts describing Islamic architecture began to appear in Britain. Linked with this were the various simulacra of Islamic buildings erected for educational purposes: M. D. Wyatt's addition to the East India House Museum (1855), Owen Jones' Alhambra in the Crystal Palace at Sydenham (1854), and T. H. Lewis' Royal Panopticon (1854). The history of Islamic architecture purveyed through such writing and such buildings was one that exhibited the operative conjunction of imperial ambition with the claimed objectivity of scholarly knowledge, a union found at the heart of orientalism. As such it often reinscribed the dicta of colonial anthropology and Victorian racial theory.

There are several important links here with the more hesitant and often unsuccessful activity of designing and erecting buildings for the informal empire. Many of these architects (Donaldson, William Burges, Wild, and Jones) actively contributed to this orientalist knowledge, and their experience in the Near East added authority and greater detail to its axioms. The notions of Islamic display, of the essential elements of Islamic architecture and urbanism, and of what constituted a Muslim public were all formulated in this discourse. The circulation and reiteration of such knowledge through specialist and popular domains was enhanced by the circulation of exemplary Islamic goods made available by the economic penetration of the Ottoman Empire and often housed, as at the international expositions, in structures designed by orientalists. In such environments and through such texts, colonial administrators and businessmen learned how to recognize Islam as a commodity and as a set of religious and ethnic characteristics. James Fergusson's formulations of the relation between ethnography and architecture, or a debate such as that between Ruskin and the Cole group over the relevance of Islamic art to design education, were not simply insular affairs but had profound implications for the way that contemporary Islamic society was understood—and thereby for the policy, and architectural approach, taken toward it. But the problem with designing British buildings to stand within that society was that orientalism often failed to account for a more complex local situation, especially when that locality was a Levantine imitation of a European city. In addition, the failure of this architecture's inflated representational intent in the face of these material conditions has often resulted in a historical amnesia.

[University of Pennsylvania]  
Chester Dale Fellow, 1988-1989

## WILLIAM EISLER

### *Emperor Charles V and the Visual Arts*

Charles V (1500-1558), the most powerful sovereign in Europe during the first half of the sixteenth century, played a significant role in the history of the visual arts. We would expect that his position as patron, collector, and subject would have been carefully studied, especially in view of interest in artistic patronage. The study of Charles' relationship with art, however, has been inhibited by various factors. First, most scholars who have touched on the problem approached it from the vantage point of their own specialized investigations—for example, the history of Spanish, northern, and Italian art and architecture. While many exemplary studies have appeared dealing with the history, iconography, and iconology of works pertaining to Charles, art historians have not focused on the emperor himself. Also the subdivision of art historical scholarship into regional subdisciplines has not facilitated the study of a patron who did not and could not respect our modern boundaries.

My tenure as a senior fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts resulted in two new studies on Charles V, both of which will be published shortly. The first, researched and written during the fall, was a reevaluation of the interrelated histories of the Royal Chapel and the Cathedral of Granada. For many years scholars have accepted the hypothesis that the introduction of the rotunda into Spanish ecclesiastical architecture by the architect Diego Siloe in the cathedral resulted from the emperor's decision to be buried in its sanctuary rather than in the mausoleum in the Royal Chapel, constructed by his grandparents Ferdinand and Isabella. This theory, however, does not appear to be supported by historical evidence. Employing the vast resources of the Hispanic Collections of the Library of Congress, I placed all of the relevant published documents in chronological order. These included material pertinent to the history of the chapel, the cathedral, and above all the intentions of the imperial family relative to the selection of the emperor's final resting place. Within a short time a very different picture emerged. From the period of the drafting of Charles V's first testament (1522) until the return of Philip II to Spain from the Netherlands (1559), the preferred burial site was the Royal Chapel. My research simultaneously casts some doubt on generally accepted theories regarding the rationale for the building of the Escorial; for if the monastery complex was projected as early as 1558, as most experts believe, it is very possible that it was not intended in the first instance as a Hapsburg mausoleum.

My procedure of treating the problem as an historical one, concentrating initially on Charles V rather than the monuments he sponsored, led me to different conclusions than those reached by scholars following the opposite path. The resulting paper will appear in the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*.

During the spring I turned my attention to the subject of festival decorations produced for Charles V, a subject I had treated in some detail in my dissertation. The occasion was an invitation to contribute to a volume

in the series, *Papers in Art History from The Pennsylvania State University*, entitled “*All the World’s a Stage . . .*”: *Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque*. The study of festive entries and *apparati* was originally stimulated by historians of literature, theater, and spectacles over thirty years ago. Art historians who have treated this theme for the most part have examined the religious and secular iconography of triumphal arches and other *apparati*, the place of these works in the oeuvre of major masters, or their impact on more permanent architecture. I decided rather to carefully examine a single monument, the arch built by Genoese merchants resident in Antwerp in honor of Charles V and the future king of Spain, Philip II, on the occasion of the latter’s triumphal entry of 1549. Designed by an Italian humanist, Stefano Ambrogio Schiappalaria, and decorated by an important Flemish painter, Frans Floris, the Genoese arch was one of the most elaborate of its time. Its image, which first appeared in a festival book printed one year after the event, has been frequently reproduced. The woodcut plan and elevation, accompanied by a scale, purports to represent the structure according to its “real” proportions. Contemporary printed descriptions, containing detailed accounts of its iconography, have been employed uncritically as sources for investigations into the political meaning of the work.

My own research, facilitated by the remarkable collections of the Folger Shakespeare Library and discussions with my colleague at the Center for Advanced Study, Dr. Allan Ceen, led to some new conclusions. The woodcut plan and elevation do not correspond to each other or to the printed descriptions cited by scholars. The descriptions also diverge in ways previously unnoticed. The key to understanding the problem was found in an account by the arch’s designer, Schiappalaria. He provided his own exegesis of the work’s meaning, based on musical harmonies resulting from proportional relationships within the structure. These harmonies, according to Schiappalaria, were present in the soul of the virtuous Prince Philip, and were based on measurements found exclusively in his text. The proportions—most frequently discussed in connection with Venetian architecture of the cinquecento—are in turn directly associated with classical themes pertaining to music represented on the arch. The difficulties encountered by scholars who have treated this problem in a Flemish or Genoese context would seem to illustrate the need to go beyond conventional boundaries to regard monuments of this kind within a broader European context.

As a fellow at the Center I was strongly encouraged to pursue these avenues of research by the stimulating comments and criticisms of scholars with a very wide range of interests.

John Carter Brown Library  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1988-1989

*Thematics of Genre and Decoration in Late Nineteenth-Century French Painting*

As a fellow at the Center I have addressed a number of issues that will enable me to complete my dissertation. Initially I had planned to restrict my investigation of the thematics of genre and decoration in French painting to the later 1880s and 1890s, arguably the last moment when we can meaningfully speak of a unified French pictorial enterprise. However, over the last year and a half I have become convinced that the dramatic transformations in French painting at the end of the century must be understood in the context of a larger debate within academic, avant-garde, and independent circles dating back to the 1860s.

The significance critics adduced to genre in the second half of the nineteenth century is linked to what is sometimes referred to as the gradual commodification of French Salon painting. At stake was not so much the principle of genre painting—genre had always figured prominently at the Salon and its validity had been established by such major critics as Diderot—but its relation to a more ominous transformation in the generic priorities of the French school as a whole. Critics of all political persuasions lamented what they felt was the collapse of historical and religious painting, allegedly superior loci of artistic ambition, in favor of a much broader class of works which they designated genre. To be sure, critics differed as to what exactly they meant by genre: genre might refer to orientalist scenes, scenes of everyday life, historical anecdotes, and even religious subjects, as long as these were felt to have been treated in an anti-idealist, popular fashion. Often genre was identified with the system of portable easel painting *tout court*. Critics agreed, however, that the ascendancy of genre marked the decline of the idealist aesthetics traditionally associated with *grande peinture* in favor of the materialist imperatives of the new bourgeois market. The Salon was no longer a site for the edification of an enlightened audience and the advancement of a national school but a commercial bazaar catering to the domestic needs of the middle classes.

Traditionally this transformation of the Salon has been set against the emergence of the avant-garde and advanced schools of painting specifically opposed to Salon practices. My own research suggests that the alleged commodification of the Salon can be related to an equally interesting if less successful transformation in academic aesthetics and its conventional conceptions of imitation and influence. I argue that some key *genre* painters were involved in a project specifically designed to reform the French school. For such artists as Meissonier, Gérôme, and Henri Regnault, genre was developed in response to what they felt was the impossibility of competing with the old masters in traditionally ambitious fields such as history and allegory. Genre gave these painters, or so they felt, the means both to rival the works and indeed to revise the techniques of the old masters. In other words, genre was in part a project designed to create the possibility of ambitious painting at a time when the authority of the past seemed

overwhelming.

In order to relieve the burden of inheritance genre turned, not surprisingly, to the authority of nature. Rather than see in the work of the old masters a succession of impressive but paralyzing achievements, academic naturalism seemed to transform the past into a beneficent teleology. Genre painters thus understood themselves to be fulfilling the traditional claims of *grande peinture* and returning to painting the transcendental and recuperative functions that other, more “belated” artists, had forsaken. This solution, if such a term is appropriate, to the problem of inheritance enabled genre painters to liquidate the past and construct a seemingly permanent, atemporal system of aesthetic judgment that would assure the supremacy of the French school.

To be sure this solution was illusory. Artists and critics rapidly realized that the motivation of the enterprise was merely arbitrary. The generic freedom and escape from tradition advanced by genre threatened to derail the entire project of Salon painting. In a crucial reversal, painters were led to reject the very concept of easel painting in favor of a new system based on what they called *decoration*.

Perhaps the fundamental tenet of the new aesthetic was its hostility to the traditional practices associated with easel painting. The radical functionality inherent in the notion of decoration seemed to rescue the pictorial enterprise from the commodification exemplified in genre. The classic hierarchies of media and formats were held to be the consequence of certain material factors irrelevant to true artistic production. Easel painting and genre were implicated in an empty pictorial system. That system was alternately described as that of one-point perspective, *photographisme*, and preeminently as that of the *tableau*. Both independent artists and the symbolists agreed that the illusionistic demands of the *tableau* had corrupted the principles of decorative painting since the Renaissance. Decoration with its distinct strategies (as these were articulated) was conceived as a project to recover certain lost principles of art-making that more than ever seemed necessary to the possibility of successful and ambitious painting.

But even among the symbolists there was no firm conviction as to the ultimate direction of the decorative system. For more radical artists, such as Gauguin and the Nabis (in their earliest works), the valorization of the decorative initiated a powerful ontological redefinition of the pictorial enterprise central to the subsequent evolution of modernist aesthetics. To others, decoration was a recuperative project intended—like the genre it replaced—to secure once and for all an idealist conception of painting.

[The Johns Hopkins University]

Samuel H. Kress Predoctoral Fellow, 1987-1989

## FREDERICK HARTT

### *Michelangelo Studies*

Although the text of my proposed book, *Michelangelo, Imprint, and Image* to appear in 1991 published by Harry N. Abrams and Baylor University, remains basically unaltered, some ideas have been affected by comments from members of the Center in response to my colloquium talk on this topic. The relation of Michelangelo's style and content to neoplatonism is not, as I had thought, a dead issue—merely dormant, and will require sensitive treatment. My position remains that no matter what neoplatonic influences were brought to bear on Michelangelo between the ages of fourteen and seventeen, his style and content responded in general to factors within his personality structure (formed as might be expected at a much earlier age), and specifically to the demands of each individual work including the iconographic requirements of the patron. For example, the Sistine Ceiling must first be understood as the final component in a biblical cycle elaborated for the central chapel of Christendom under the Rovere popes, and the Medici Chapel as a funeral sanctuary for members of the ruling Medici family, commissioned by their popes. Whatever correspondences may be detected between Michelangelo's form and content and the tenets of neoplatonism are peripheral, not formative.

James Beck in his note, "The Final Layer: 'L'*ultima mano*' on Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling" (*Art Bulletin*, 1988, pp. 502-503), contends that the layers of glue removed by the conservation staff of the Vatican had been placed there by Michelangelo. This assertion is founded on a translation of *ultima mano* as "final layer," which purports to be accurate but is at variance with that given by all Italian dictionaries, and on misinterpretations of texts from Vasari and Condivi. My letter, to appear in a coming issue, points out (a) that *ultima mano* means "last touches," and thus has nothing to do with glue, which was never used in fresco painting; (b) that the Vasarian text refers to priming of a dry wall *before* painting in tempera, not varnishing *after* painting in fresco; (c) that as demonstrated by others the glue was applied over the metal clamps and the late sixteenth-century restorations; (d) that conservation has revealed Michelangelo as the most original colorist of the early sixteenth century in central Italy.

"Le modello du David de Michel-Ange, après deux ans," an article of twenty-four pages, was written in French at the personal invitation of André Chastel as director of the *Revue de l'Art*. The article (a) tightens the documentary and historical analysis in my *David by the Hand of Michelangelo* (New York, 1987); (b) introduces new evidence; (c) deals with the fate of other major attributions to Michelangelo in this century; (d) analyzes preconceptions coloring Michelangelo connoisseurship; (e) compares the *modello* with the *bozzetti*; (f) proposes that the *modello* was primarily a presentation piece for the Operai and the Signoria; (g) analyzes elements of impractical fantasy in Michelangelo's initial projects; (h) publishes for the first time his actual fingerprints; (i) compares his procedures with those of Cellini; (j) discusses the Boston *modello* attributed to Cellini; (k) analyzes

the principal published comments on the *modello*. The article was accompanied by an anatomical study by James Elkins of the *modello* in comparison with the finished statue, and was to appear along with an extensive article by Gary Radke on sculptors' models in the late quattrocento and unspecified studies on such models by René Gaborit in an issue devoted to the general question of Renaissance models. I regret that because the *Revue de l'Art* renounced the special issue negotiations are under way to publish all three manuscripts elsewhere.

An article of forty-eight pages based on *Michelangelo's Mural Drawings and the Medici Chapel*, my paper for the symposium on Michelangelo's drawings at the National Gallery in October 1988, will be published in the Gallery's *Studies in the History of Art*. Originally an attempt to justify Paolo dal Poggetto's attribution of the mural drawings in the room below the Medici Chapel to Michelangelo while a refugee in this room from August into October 1530, the study expanded enormously. Analysis of the single extended comment on the drawings (Caroline Elam, "The Mural Drawings in Michelangelo's New Sacristy," *Burlington Magazine*, 1981, pp. 592-602), required detailed refutation. It also became necessary to consider some of the drawings in the Michelangelo exhibition in relation to the mural drawings. This involved refutation of Michael Hirst's hypothesis connecting all fourteen Michelangelo drawings of the Resurrection with an undocumented and unexecuted mural at Santa Maria della Pace in Rome, in favor of separate purposes for the set over a period of time, including a destination over the altarpiece of the Sistine Chapel for the heroic *Resurrection* study at Windsor Castle, No. 41 in the catalogue (*Michelangelo Draftsman*). My initial hypothesis that several apparently unrelated sketches and figure studies were all in reality intended for a never-executed *Descent into Limbo* was enriched by further observation, and brought about the conviction that every drawing on the walls except for the preliminary sketch for the *David-Apollo* was intended for works of art in the Medici Chapel. I have proposed the two drawings of the dead Christ, Nos. 49 and 50 in the catalogue, as studies for a never-executed *Pietà* (one later used by Sebastiano for the Ubeda *Pietà*) for the recently discovered roundel over the altar in the Medici Chapel. The series makes sense as a consistent group of drawings by Michelangelo himself during his brief incarceration in the room, preserving initial and often alternative early stages in the formulation of the statues, a new insight into the artist's working methods, and an idea of how the never-executed paintings might have looked.

University of Virginia (emeritus)  
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1988-1989

ELIZABETH HONIG

*Painting and the Market: Pictures of Display and Exchange from Aertsen to De Witte*

During the second half of the sixteenth century, the city of Antwerp was racked by political, economic, and religious troubles. Its churches, like those of many other Netherlandish towns, were despoiled by iconoclasts. Yet Antwerp was also, at least until the 1570s, the central commodity and money market for all Europe. And while its artistic treasures were maligned by preachers and attacked by rioters, its artistic community flourished, producing works in an unprecedented variety of new genres for both patrons and the open market. One subject which was to enjoy a lasting popularity in the art of the southern and northern Netherlands was that of the market itself. These early images of wares luxuriantly displayed and cordially exchanged are important as the foundation for the genre of market scenes and also for our understanding of Dutch still-life painting. By depicting the actions of and around commodity exchange, they focus our attention on the way this culture treated salable goods, and on what the functions of such goods could be within a work of art.

My study of painting and the market explores images of the market from their first appearance in the oeuvre of Pieter Aertsen in the 1550s through the works of Dutch genre painters of the seventeenth century. During the time of my fellowship, I have concentrated on the sixteenth-century Flemish works and the historical circumstances in which they were



Joachim Beuckelaer, *Fish Market*, 1574, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp

produced. I see two factors as being most important in our understanding of these images: the economic and the religious-aesthetic. First, therefore, I examine the new structures of the general market and also the art market in sixteenth-century Antwerp. I am most interested in how people at that time adjusted (or failed to adjust) their old ideals about the processes and the ethics of commercial exchange to meet the new realities. The market was overflowing its earlier spatial and temporal limits to become a continual and pervasive fact in the life of the city; at the same time the manner of exchange was increasingly based on abstractions or representations. Self-definition in economic terms was ever more important, and social roles were construed through their enactment in the marketplace. Pieter Aertsen's paintings of market vendors call on the viewer to respond in ways that reflect and repeat the commerce of life in Antwerp, where values were represented and mediated by goods.

These observations are combined in the second part of the study with a consideration of criticism of the art of painting by some supporters of the Reformation. The iconoclastic riots of 1566 were the culmination of a heated debate about the status of painting; the old functions of the religious image came under severe attack, and the mere objecthood of the image began to be recognized by both sides. In this context it is significant that the early market scenes frequently incorporate into their backgrounds a religious scene, our viewing of which is mediated by the goods in the foreground. My study of the structure and iconography of Aertsen's paintings, his biography, and the response of contemporaries to his works suggests that he was concerned to develop an aesthetic that would be defensible against the accusations of the iconoclasts. The contentious mystique of the idol is replaced by the new mystique of the commodity.

In the chapter I am now writing the busy city market scenes of Joachim Beuckelaer and his contemporaries are discussed in a social context. Through readings of legal and religious texts and *rederijker* plays, I explore how judgments of value were considered to take place on the market, what their moral implications were, and how these issues were dealt with in paintings. I am also researching the development of the representation of the market past the turn of the century, from Flemish paintings to Dutch prints. At this time the market was often used as the setting for series imagery: why was the market an important context in which to "order" the world?

Last, my dissertation will treat the market in seventeenth-century painting. Using city description books as a parallel discourse I intend to analyze the role markets played in forming the civic identity of Holland's rising towns. The leading roles in the Dutch market—buyers, sellers, officials—were played by women, so my final chapter concerns their place in market scenes. In the contemporary ideology of gender roles, the woman's domain was within the confines of the home. The market was regarded as an exception in writings on the ideal woman, but it was also a site of potential erotic exchange. I will analyze how the paintings deal with the tension of depicting a realm where social ideals clash with a problematic reality.

[Yale University]

Robert H. and Clarice Smith Fellow, 1988-1989

*The International Trend in History Painting in Amsterdam  
c. 1660–1683; Karel Du Jardin, a Case Study*

Was Gerard de Lairese (1640–1711) the only significant painter of history paintings in Amsterdam after the magnificent decorations of the Town Hall (1650s)? And why was this artist—who characterized classicizing, courtly tendencies late in the century—so successful?

These questions point to a lacuna in discussions of history painting in Amsterdam in the third and fourth quarters of the seventeenth century. In fact, Karel Du Jardin (c. 1622–1678), Nicolaes Berchem (1620–1683), and Adriaen van de Velde (1636–1672) produced some of the most significant and beautiful history paintings for patrons in Amsterdam, rather than the free market, between c. 1660 and 1683. These same artists also provided similar, perhaps identical, patrons with expensive Italianate landscapes appreciated for their allusions to the eternal city and their classical and religious subject matter as well as for their evocative quality. Masterful combination of both genres, Italianate landscapes and large history pieces, represents an unusual if not unique phenomenon in the Netherlands. Yet only scant attention has been paid to this significant chapter in the history of history painting in Amsterdam.

Modern art history has tended to focus on specifically Dutch characteristics in subject matter and style, therefore with an emphasis on genre painting, portraiture, and landscape. However, a certain kind of painting in Amsterdam that grew out of a tradition for classicizing art was completely in keeping with international tendencies, and it was influenced by foreign art—an aspect systematically underrated in discussion of Dutch art. In addition to being avidly collected, Flemish, French, and Italian art played a decisive role in shaping the taste of the patrons and influenced Dutch artists as well.

Due to the economic circumstances of the period, Amsterdam merchants were remarkably well traveled and internationally oriented. Despite assertions of tension between Amsterdam “capitalists” and royalist factions, the Amsterdam merchant in fact turned to court circles in The Hague as a cultural model. Their differences were political, and not necessarily cultural. Both groups were attracted to a grand style, were aware of artistic theory, and admired Flemish and Italian art. By 1672, when William III was elected *Stadtholder*, this process of aristocratization was virtually complete. The ideals and ambitions of the well-to-do merchants of Amsterdam—in search of a public identity, and with time, money, and inclination to develop their tastes and decorate their homes—were given form not only in the commissions for the Town Hall decorations and other public commissions, but in the private sphere as well.

All these factors crystallized shortly after midcentury in the works of Du Jardin and others, thus laying the ground for De Lairese who, by the late 1670s, emerged as master of the field (Van de Velde died in 1672; Du Jardin left for Italy early in 1675, where he died in 1678; and Berchem,

who produced his most astonishing history paintings in the mid 1670s, died in 1683).

During the course of my research, it became clear that an investigation of one artist—Karel Du Jardin—would provide the means for defining this phenomenon. By understanding the circumstances around his artistic production, his position in the society which fostered and supported him, and the sources for his paintings, some light might be shed on larger issues. Du Jardin is a useful case study, not only because of the abundance of signed and dated works, allowing a reconstruction of his oeuvre, but because his life has been fairly well documented. He was exposed to international tendencies in the Netherlands before he traveled to France in 1650. Upon his return in 1652, Du Jardin began to paint large history scenes while continuing his production of Italianate landscapes. He was to translate his experience of “foreign” art into a Dutch vernacular, qualities highly appreciated by his patrons in Amsterdam, some of whom I have been able to profile. He not only sensitively portrayed these imposing and charismatic individuals (Pieter de Graeff, Michiel Adriaensz. de Ruyter, Johannes Reynst, Jan Vos), but appears to have made friendships in these circles as well, for instance with Johannes Reynst, whose father and uncle had assembled one of the most remarkable private collections of Italian, mostly Venetian, paintings of its time and which Du Jardin was called upon to appraise in 1672.

Works by Du Jardin and others had considerable impact on classicizing tendencies of the late century and were representative of an aesthetic fostered by a unique culture that was well educated, espoused humanistic ideals, and above all was conversant with international artistic developments.

During the tenure of the Smith Fellowship, I was able to lay the foundation for a catalogue raisonné of Du Jardin’s works; gather archival material; travel extensively to see the works of art in public and private collections; and finish reading the necessary literature, most of which is only available in the Netherlands.

[New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]  
Robert H. and Clarice Smith Predoctoral Fellow, 1987–1988

*Forgetting the Revolution: Art in France under the Thermidorian Reaction and the Directory, 1794–1799*

I have spent my fellowship year in Paris, pursuing primary sources for my dissertation. My point of departure was a disagreement with the traditional, stylistic explanation of French art after 1794, most often characterized as decadence of neoclassicism. Rather than seeing it as a sequence of styles, or a period continuous with the earlier eighteenth-century classical tradition, I believed more could be learned by trying to make sense of the rupture in this tradition that took place after 1794 in light of the Revolution. The Revolution assigned art a new place in a public sphere by mobilizing it to represent, and thus give meaning to, the new, emerging French nation. Moreover, it was the revolution that radically politicized the meaning of antiquity. Thus change in the mode of art's engagement with the classical tradition after 1794—such as the shift of aesthetic interest from Roman to Greek antiquity and the introduction of a statuary nude in painting—should be related to changes in revolutionary ideology rather than to stylistic decadence.

To historicize the meaning of art in the period 1794 to 1799 necessitated considering what was then most important about art: its social function. Thus I asked first what was understood and defined as republican art in this period. Such definitions revolve around the issue of the social utility of art. I have looked through art periodicals, which first began to appear in the late 1790s, in order to establish a chart of issues raised by public debate on the function of art. I focused on the writing of the most important cultural elite of moderate republicans formed around the journal *La Décade Philosophique*. To a degree, *La Décade* monopolized the domain of education and public instruction. Championing republican culture, this group used a certain conception of art as representation of their own desired place within the newly established state. In a more general if highly mediated fashion, the press debate over the social utility of art functioned as a pretext by other elites to fight for their desired representation in the new French republic. These debates, in other words, carried values and interests beyond aesthetics. To elucidate their meaning, I situated their language within the rhetoric of the more overtly political pamphlets, some written by these same men of culture, for example Chaussard.

I then moved on to examine other levels of discussion on the utility of art in a series of legislative debates and the rich pamphlet literature triggered by them. Further, having discovered in the archives of the Institut National a dossier of manuscripts until now thought to have been destroyed by fire, I examined the results of the important open contest concerning painting's influence on the morals of the free society. This led to a broader inquiry into the function of the Institut National as a promoter of republican culture, work based on the material found in the archives and the library of the institute.

My second interest was the forms of the government's control over the

art system (that is, analysis of the sources kept at the Archives du Louvre and the Archives Nationales pertaining to the organization of the Salons), and the institutional aspects of the artist's status and position in society. For example, I have examined the new mode of exhibition inaugurated by David's showing of the *Sabine Women* in 1799. Although his introduction of the entry fee was seen by the press as controversial, David was followed by many other artists who organized displays of their work independent of the Salon and charged the public fees. Between 1799 and 1800 four other artists had their work shown in this manner, either in the separate rooms in the Louvre or elsewhere in the city. Also Girodet, Gérard, Guerin, and Serangeli announced in the press their plan to form a kind of a joint stock company (underwritten by the most prominent banker at the time, Perregaux). Their project was based on an elaborate subscription system with an exhibition, again with an entry fee, as a means of generating profit for both artists and subscribers. These unprecedented examples of artistic entrepreneurship should be recognized both as a symptom and a site of redefinition of the artist's status in the postrevolutionary society.

Third, I have examined the archival material on David: his position vis-à-vis the government and the art administration; his role in the Institut National; and his material situation during the Directory. I worked mostly at the Bibliothèque National, the Doucet library, the Archives Nationales, and the archives of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. My research then moved to the issues of gender, more specifically, the rhetoric of fashion and body in painting. What interested me most was the role of the image as a source of identity—real and fantasized—offered in the late 1790s to the new republican self.

Research to date convinces me that art had a major share in the Directorial project of “editing” the collective memory of the revolution: of remembering some and forgetting other aspects of the radical social change. My task is to demonstrate how this was done in the works of art within the contexts of their production: their institutional framework and the different levels of public debate surrounding them.

[City University of New York, Graduate Center]  
Chester Dale Fellow, 1987–1988

*A Note on Architecture and Knowledge*

During my stay at the Center for Advanced Study, I have been working principally on three separate investigations which form part of a larger work that I am preparing on the epistemological dimension of architecture. The first is the problem of a nondiscursive representation of theory, to be found in certain classes of drawings and which challenges the conventional depiction of theory and form. The second is about the limits of the concepts of rationalism and relativism as they may relate to the discourse of architecture with special reference to the present condition. The third addresses the problem of the role of different types of nonarchitect contributions to architectural discourse (for example, that of the historian or the critic), which can help to throw new light on the question of the bounding of a disciplinary "problematique."

I will discuss here only the first issue, which begins with the assumption that behind every artifact or architectural product must lie a body of theory. This theory, I will refer to as the "implicit" theory of the designer, and this implicit theory is only accessible to the investigator through a *rational reconstruction*. This theory is not to be confused with the designer's expressed or "explicit" theory which may be found in his or her written or verbal statements. But a discrepancy between *what informs doing* and *what informs saying* must always be anticipated, even if the considerable potential for divergence does not necessarily imply that explicit statements do not nearly always corroborate, to some degree, implicit theories.

The researcher's accessibility to an implicit action theory will depend on how such a theory might be characterized, and my proposal for this would be to conceive of this body of theory as an architect's or producer's *position*, a notion which implies that the architect would work with some sort of a *program*, which would come to be acted out in the design of an artifact. A *program* would contain two sorts of guiding rules and statements. First, there would be those held axiomatically/dogmatically (i.e., available neither to questioning nor to rebuke). But second, there would be those rules that would direct action and indicate just what the program would be searching for. Imre Lakatos refers to these two categories as the *hardcore* and the *heuristics* of the program.

In the arts the directives for action (the heuristics) can be seen as being of two sorts; there will be directives for rejection and directives for operation. The *rejection* negative rules would be those that would deny the legitimacy of a previous disposition, often that of an immediate predecessor (as with the avant-garde, which traditionally was postulated on this negativity), while the operational rules, the *what to explore* rules, would be those that would instruct the program as to what to seek out and with what means to seek it out. Thus by this depiction an architectural position (constituting the architect's theory of action) could be characterized first by a description of the acquired prejudicial knowledge and, second, by describing the series of search rules; both together would define a particular

individual's theoretical approach to a given architectural production or series of productions in a time-specific context.

But the operational (search) rules in an architectural program encounter an important epistemological difficulty: where do we look for the specifics of architectural thinking? In which domain are the heuristics rooted? Would they be in the formal domain, which would include buildings, artifacts, and other material objects, or would they be within the domain of knowledge? Or could they be in both, and if in both how does this work within our present categories of understanding?

While in all the visual arts this problem might be said to have an identifiable existence, in architecture it has a conspicuous existence. For while architecture would not exist if it were not to embody technological prerogatives, functional prerequisites (most frequently the prime reason for its realization), economic/utilitarian criteria, and so on, all deriving from discursive sources and belonging to the conventionally understood domain of knowledge, no architectural design could be produced unless the designer had reconciled at least some of this knowledge with that of the formal rule structures whose source may derive from historical categories of style or from the rules of former models within the context of history. The designer's formal task thus becomes one of *conforming to, stretching, breaking, or remaking* historically arrived at architectural rule configurations, but with the particular approach of the designer being controlled by the axiomatic demands made by his or her own hardcore.

I would suggest that the designer may both conceptualize and formally explore in his or her own mind up to a certain degree of complexity, but the design of elaborate formulations will be aided by the use of some sort of *formal surrogate* to represent formal ideas and to assist exploration and elaboration. Of course the formal surrogate has been an essential part of the history of design and includes the three-dimensional architectural model as well as the more important surrogate device for architectural thinking, the sketch. The sketch is able to provide a flexible and immediate mode of formal exploration, totally compatible with the speed of thought, and permitting highly complex configurations to be instantaneously conceptualized visually. So what may be the status of such a sketch?

A sketch may be seen as a container of "ideas" in the formal mode in the same way that a sentence may be seen as a container of meaning in the discursive mode. Sketching for the designer will be a way of thinking, and because of this a sketch will also be a representation of thought. It is for this reason that those classes of "thinking" drawings that I have been discussing need to be viewed, I will suggest, not only as depictions of thought but also as the only evidence of a nondiscursive theory. Hence I would argue the purpose of an exploratory design drawing should be viewed in the light of its epistemological as well as its formal dimension and, moreover, should be valued for the intellectual insights it offers while never being consigned to the lowest rung of the connoisseurs' ladder.

Architectural Association School of Architecture, London  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1988

## ANNETTE LEDUC

### *Gavarni's Human Comedy: The London Years (1847-1851) and Their Aftermath*

The lithographs of G.S. Chevallier, better known as Gavarni, are familiar to us today mainly insofar as they serve as a foil for the prints of that giant of political caricature, Honoré Daumier. Twentieth-century writers agree that Gavarni's art is overshadowed by Daumier's. As a result recent art historians have not only labeled Gavarni's satire benign but also have dismissed him as a flattering chronicler of the fashionable Parisian demimonde. It is my contention that such a critical response to Gavarni is both unwarranted and unhistorical. Throughout the nineteenth century Gavarni's reputation as a social satirist rivaled if not surpassed that of Daumier.

The literature devoted to Gavarni is vast. A catalogue raisonné of his more than twenty-seven hundred lithographs was assembled by Gavarni's long-time friend Mahéruault shortly after the artist's death in 1873. Gavarni was also the subject of one of the finest biographies of an artist's life, *Gavarni, l'homme et l'oeuvre* by Edmond and Jules de Goncourt (1873). Finally, a two-volume monograph by the distinguished scholar Paul Lemoisne appeared in 1924 and 1928. In addition to these fundamental studies there exists an enormous number of articles by a host of distinguished writers and critics, from Balzac to Anatole France. The bulk of this material has been largely neglected by modern writers in favor of an emphasis on those few critics who have retained their reputations down to the present day.

Several of the neglected critics speak of Gavarni's work as the culmination of a tradition which, originating in the late eighteenth century, came to fruition with the invention of lithography in the first decades of the nineteenth century. The tradition they attempt to isolate emphasized observation and interpretation of contemporary social mores. Artists belonging to that tradition believed first in drawing from nature and second, in uniting individual drawings with verbal legends (usually spoken lines) composed by the artist. It is through such a union of image and text that the artists in question created satire without resorting to caricature. What bound Gavarni to his slightly older contemporaries, Charlet and Monnier, and separated him from Daumier, was his refusal to enter the realm of caricature proper and his insistence on a close, indeed an unprecedented, reciprocity of word and image.

To my mind a decisive break with that tradition occurred during Gavarni's London sojourn (1847-1851). During these years his treatment of the evils of modern city life expanded beyond a satire of the Parisian demimonde to reveal corruption of a very different sort in a radically different city. Gavarni enjoyed a brilliant reputation in England as the arbiter par excellence of Parisian fashion and elegance. Lured to London by a desire to chronicle its high life, Gavarni, to the dismay of all, shunned London society and chose instead the misery and squalor of the East End as his subject. Gavarni's portrayal of the destitute and homeless in his wood engravings, watercolors, lithographs, and writings is unsatirical and sym-

pathetic, which seems to have been motivated to a considerable extent by the writings of contemporary French journalists. Reports from France on the events of the 1848 revolution marked Gavarni as deeply as had the spectacle of London poverty. Although he postponed giving his political views extensive visual treatment until his return to France, Gavarni's detached sympathy for the lot of the poor was reinforced by seeing the working classes manipulated and exploited by political hypocrites.

Gavarni's transfer to London had another equally significant impact on his art. Hitherto the interaction of visual image and spoken legend had been a crucial feature of his lithographs. However, as Gavarni's command of English was never more than tentative, he could hardly invent words to match his images of London humanity, and so was compelled to rely solely on his articulate drawing for communication. A remarkable stylistic transformation ensued as Gavarni's faithful rendering of nature was metamorphosed into pictorial hyperbole. With his return to Paris Gavarni refrained from reviving his masterful spoken legend in favor of a new, shorter (generally unspoken) legend, which he applied merely as a title for, or commentary on, ever grander images. The London years, therefore, seem to have inaugurated a permanent search for greater visual expression. If this is the case, these changes may not be attributable simply to a language handicap. Rather the decision to abandon Paris for London must have been impelled by Gavarni's growing sense of inhibition within the confines of the very genre of French lithography that he had made incomparably his own up to 1848.

The London sojourn thus signifies an important turning point in Gavarni's art, which would be given full expression in his magnum opus *Masques et Visages* (1852-1853). That highly structured study, comprising 332 lithographs divided into eighteen complexly interrelated suites of prints, is unquestionably the most ambitious project of his entire career. *Masques et Visages* is also the culmination of Gavarni's human comedy. In two of the suites developed in London, "Les Anglais chez eux" and "Histoire de politiqueur," Gavarni exposed man's inhumanity to man. In the remaining sixteen suites, with one notable exception, Gavarni returned for a final look at bohemian Paris. We are no longer in the world that occasioned the witty, ironic satire—at once flattering and scathing—of Gavarni's youth. Instead we are confronted with a tired Paris, peopled with the same characters Gavarni had made legendary in their youth, now dissipated and disenchanting in old age. Finally, it is in the *Masques et Visages* that Gavarni gave birth to his blackest invention, the character of Thomas Vireloque, a beggar-philosopher who is the ultimate personification of the misanthropy that first infected Gavarni in the streets of London.

[The Johns Hopkins University]  
David E. Finley Fellow, 1986-1989

## JOSEPH LEVINE

### *Ancients and Moderns: History, Literature, and the Arts in the Battle of the Books*

The last decade of the seventeenth century opened with a sudden renewal of hostilities in the age-old quarrel between the ancients and the moderns. In France the new controversy was opened by Charles Perrault, who boldly proclaimed the superiority of the moderns in all fields of culture and who immediately met a barrage of criticism from the party of the ancients led by Boileau. In England the quarrel began with an essay by Sir William Temple, who resolutely declared the superiority of the ancients in everything and who was promptly answered by William Wotton with the encouragement of the Royal Society. For a time on both sides of the Channel, the polemic was conducted with great spirit and universal interest. When the smoke cleared, although there were still dissenters, it seemed that a general agreement had been forged somehow to award the victory to the moderns in philosophy and science, while continuing the ancient superiority of the classics in literature and the arts. Although there were still some moderns with respect to the latter, it was only to the extent that they believed that the imitation of the ancients should be free rather than literal, and that in the future some parity might be achieved. No one, it seems, was ready yet to argue for outright independence.

In England the quarrel was known as the “battle of the books” from Jonathan Swift’s satirical description. Swift and his friend, Alexander Pope, led the Augustan wits and men of the world in defense of the ancients and succeeded in cementing the victory of the classics in literature. But there was one new challenge posed during the quarrel that was left unresolved. Wotton and his ally, Richard Bentley, claimed that classical scholarship (i.e., philology and antiquities) was a peculiarly modern achievement unknown to antiquity, and they succeeded in demonstrating its capability by showing one old classic, the *Epistles of Phalaris*, to be a forgery and many others (including Homer) to have faults that made them inapplicable to contemporary life, and therefore to imitation. The moderns argued that the classics were unintelligible without close commentary and, by implication, that the new forms of historical scholarship were indispensable to any true understanding of the past—classical or otherwise. But too much knowledge proved a dangerous thing to the prevailing belief in antiquity; apparently one could come to know too much about the ancients to continue to believe in their perfection. The tension that resulted between polite learning and erudition, literature and history, remained continuous throughout the eighteenth century and beyond. The immense controversy that surrounded Pope’s translation of the *Iliad* reflected these issues, as did Bentley’s remarkable edition of Milton’s *Paradise Lost*, and I have chosen to treat these events as further episodes in the battle of the books. In addition, I have tried to indicate the way in which both the ancients and the moderns each wrote their own different and antithetical kinds of history during the period.

My chief concern at the Center for Advanced Study this year was to rewrite and complete a detailed narrative account of the controversy, a project long in the works. I was pleased this winter to solve the awkward problem of setting proper boundaries to my work. The trouble was that the quarrel had roots that lie very deep in European cultural history (even to antiquity itself) and that it extended eventually to include almost all disciplines and many countries. It was in fact not really a single battle but a great number of skirmishes fought over different objectives in different times and places. Even its termination appeared uncertain. As a practical matter, I decided to confine myself in this book to England c. 1690-1740, and to literature and history. The deep division that then existed between the two cultures, between the humanities and the sciences (including philosophy and theology), suggested that these things might be better treated separately than together. For the humanities at least there was a clear succession of interconnected incidents that could be seen as parts of a single unified story. The sciences tell another less tidy tale which I hope to treat separately in another volume.

While at the Center, I was especially concerned to take advantage of its resources to extend my story to include the arts and architecture. Architecture in particular was an important battleground in the quarrel. The French had led the way, and their theorists quickly became domesticated in England: Fréart de Chambray (in John Evelyn's translation and commentary) defending the ancients, Claude Perrault and his brother, the moderns. Architectural scholarship in the work of François Desgodetz, like classical scholarship, cast its vote for modernity, and briefly threatened the ideal of close imitation. But as with literature, neoclassical architecture triumphed for the while in theory and practice. Christopher Wren's career can be seen as a series of choices determined by issues in the quarrel, and his theories and buildings as a self-conscious reaction to the increasing *ancienneté* of the period. The neo-Palladians who followed may be viewed as the counterparts of Swift and Pope. When much later neoclassicism was finally undone, it was in large measure the result of a steadily increasing knowledge of antiquity. The "modernity" that then resulted would have surprised and probably dismayed these first moderns, but it is perhaps only fully intelligible in this perspective.

I complete my tenure at the Center one chapter short of finishing my book and with a second manuscript beginning to take shape that will deal with science and philosophy as well as some other neglected aspects of the quarrel.

Syracuse University  
Paul Mellon Senior Fellow, 1988-1989

*The Architecture of Gianlorenzo Bernini*

During the spring term of 1989, I continued the research and writing of an account of Bernini's architecture. During the first portion of my tenure, a study of Bernini's role in the decoration of the interior of the Pantheon during the pontificate of Alexander VII Chigi (1655–1667) was completed. A second part of the term was devoted to a study of Bernini's Scala Regia.

By reconsidering the evidence of the drawings (preserved in the Chigi Archives) for the redecoration of the Pantheon, one can dismiss the argument that Bernini was personally responsible for them. A consideration of the relevant documents similarly reveals no evidence of Bernini's participation in the attempt to refashion the interior of the Pantheon. On the other hand there is an eighteenth-century report, whose existence has long been known, which claims that Bernini refused to decorate the interior of the Pantheon despite the repeated requests of his patron Alexander VII. Generally we treat such accounts as heresy, but the evidence in this case supports the substance of the report. According to the story, Bernini three times refused Alexander's request to enliven the dome of the Pantheon. Claiming to lack the talent necessary for this intervention, Bernini offered merely to paint-in the little pilasters of the attic if the money were lacking to replace them in marble.

Alexander VII was an enthusiastic archaeologist, and he knew that the Pantheon presented serious problems of interpretation, above all because the vertical members of the interior decoration—columns on the pavement, pilasters in the attic, ribs in the dome—are not consistently aligned over one another. Solids stand over voids with disconcerting frequency, disobeying a fundamental precept of Renaissance architectural composition. Alexander's solution was to embellish the interior with stucco decorations that would obscure this "uncanonical" aspect of the building, and some of the work that he planned was actually executed although it was taken down in the succeeding papacy. Bernini, on the other hand, opposed the creation of stucco embellishments, and he argued forcefully if ultimately not persuasively against them.

Bernini's argument against any alteration of the interior of the Pantheon was based on a revolutionary insight about the organizing principles of the interior. Essentially, he recognized that while the little pilaster order of the attic does not align vertically with the larger pilaster-and-column order resting on the pavement, the two levels have the same proportions and rhythmic development. This rhythmic overlay seems to have puzzled virtually every Renaissance student of the building, from Francesco di Giorgio to Michelangelo and Sangallo the Younger, and some modern archaeologists as well. The simultaneous and corresponding rhythmic sequences in the pilasters of the attic and the orders that spring from the pavement create an architectural counterpoint that Bernini, in the seventeenth century, must have been well prepared to understand.

The Scala Regia, designed by Bernini as the main ceremonial entrance

to the Vatican Palace, has two essential components: a perspectival staircase and a colossal statue of Constantine at its base. These two components of his design must be considered together to understand the genesis of the monument and its full meaning. The documents reveal, contrary to statements in Panofsky's early article on the subject, that Bernini built rather than inherited the converging walls of the stairs that create the perspectival effect. He must therefore have been attempting to create spatial effects that a conventional staircase could not have evoked. This effect would have been enhanced by the converging rows of columns that flank the main flight of stairs and diminish in size as the stairs rise to an intermediate landing. From the intermediate landing the staircase ascends to the main audience hall of the palace, the Sala Regia.

Bernini's primary challenge was to build the stairs under the Sala Regia without disturbing its structure or damaging the decorations of the Sistine Chapel and the Pauline Chapel whose walls also supported portions of the stair hall. An added problem was the statue of Constantine, which had to be illuminated in a position remote from any obvious source of light. These problems were solved by raising the vault above Constantine at the foot of the staircase. Chains were installed in the floor above to stabilize the Sala Regia. By these means an enormous window could be installed to bathe the Constantine in natural light.

The statue of Constantine originally had been intended for the interior of St. Peter's. In its present location the equestrian group, with rearing horse and gesticulating rider, responds to the flood of natural light as though to a divine vision. The iconography of the group is made explicit in the cross and the inscription planted at the sill of the window. The inscription reads "In hoc signo vinces." This dramatic reenactment of Constantine's vision, presented on a colossal scale, was meant to provide a message about the vanity of worldly might to visiting ambassadors and dignitaries approaching the papal audience hall.

By re-creating the design process through a study of drawings, documents, and circumstantial evidence, it is possible to arrive at new conclusions about the richness of Bernini's architectural achievements. A methodical look at his major commissions indicates an artistic personality that is more complicated and more interesting than previous scholarship has revealed. Further study will surely provide the basis for reassessing the generalities by which Bernini's architecture has been characterized in the past and provide the opportunity for reevaluating his importance as an artist.

Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, spring 1989

*Ancient Copies of Greek Sculpture in Polish Collections*

Collections of ancient art in Poland began, as in many other non-Mediterranean countries, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They included primarily ancient sculpture and vases. In Poland decorative Greek vases and Roman sculpture were the most popular, and for these objects special expositions, lapidaria, and galleries were established. The first collections originated around the middle of the eighteenth century, and were quickly followed by others. For two centuries the aristocracy established eleven relatively large collections located in country houses throughout Poland. Some pieces of ancient art were also present in the collections of Polish middle class citizens, along with their postantique and contemporary art objects. During this period also the collections were partly dispersed and destroyed in the wake of wars and insurrections. As might be expected, the sculpture in stone was better preserved than less durable objects.

Today ancient sculpture in Poland is found primarily in two national museums, in Warsaw and Kraków. There are also small collections of sculpture in ancient palaces, such as Wilanów (Collection Potocki), Nieborów (Collection Radziwiłł), and Gołuchów (Collection Czartoryski/Działyński). Other sculpture is on display in the Gallery of Antique Art in Warsaw or is kept in storerooms in Warsaw and in Kraków. After the last World War some ancient sculpture, inscriptions, and vases from former German collections (Wrocław, Beynuhnen, Braniewo, Lubniewice, and diverse unknown collections of Silesia) remained in Poland; they are either on display in Warsaw and Świdnica Museums, or are in storerooms in Warsaw. Other sources of ancient sculpture that now exist in Poland are: those on extended loan from the Louvre, those from Polish excavations, and those purchased on the antiquities market. Altogether, the Polish museums are today in possession of about five hundred ancient sculptures, mostly fragmentary.

The history of Polish collections of ancient art was the subject of my doctoral thesis (1982); now the sculptures themselves require consideration. The ancient portraits from Polish collections have been published in the series *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani*, and Roman funeral sculpture recently has been prepared for publication. The third and the largest category of the collection—the Roman copies of Greek sculpture—represents the field of my present work.

My research at the Center for Advanced Study began with the literature relevant to the general problems of copying ancient sculpture (the works of Lippold, Bieber, Richter, Zanker, Ridgway, and others). The second step was to establish the prototypes of all the sculpture and sculptural fragments in the collection, which consisted initially of 215 pieces. In Washington it was possible to eliminate seven of them as postantique imitations. This investigation was followed by bibliographical inquiries concerning each type of sculpture presented in my documentation. At the same time, I have been studying catalogues of ancient art from European

and American museums with the intention of identifying comparable sculpture. Such finds are frequent owing to the Roman custom of copying sculpture in long series. The similarity of material is also due to the fact that this sculpture (like that in Poland) came from the Roman antiquities market and passed through the Roman sculpture workshops of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (for example, Cavacceppi, Antonini, Jenkins, and Vescovali). I also visited the most important American museums of ancient art (J. Paul Getty Museum, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Walters Art Gallery), where similar Roman copies or other antique sculpture (such as Greek prototypes, terracotta, and bronze sculpture of the same type) is displayed. These visits and discussions with curators were very helpful.

During the two months of research in the United States, I was able to determine iconographical prototypes for a majority of the sculpture and sculpture fragments from Polish museums. The collection contains diverse mythological male and female representations (complete as well as torsos, heads, herms), some Roman replicas of Greek portraiture, statues of men and women, and some specimens of decorative sculpture (reliefs, furniture). In many cases I determined the particular iconographical type of a divinity and found the iconographical as well as stylistical basis for the dating of an object. The Venus representations seem to be of particular interest because of their large number and the diversity of type (Cnidian; Capitoline; Medici; half-draped Anadyomene; sandal-binder; copies of heads of fifth- and fourth-century Aphrodite types, one a replica of the famous "Bartlett Head" from the Boston Museum of Fine Arts; some Roman decorative, eclectic works). This group of sculpture is already prepared for publication. So also are the assortment of statues of the Asclepios "Giustini type," the seated Dionysos, "Weary Heracles," Serapis heads, men's torsos of Apollo Omphalos, Dyscophoros, Hermes Richelieu, and Doryphoros types, as well as the head of the Amazon Capitoline-type, the dancing Maenad-relief, and inhabited-scroll reliefs. The other groups of sculpture require additional investigation.

University of Warsaw, Institute of Archaeology  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1989



Above: Neoclassic tripod with three ancient heads, Nieborów Palace, Collection Radziwiłł, inv. Nb 290 MNW. Photograph by P. Ciepiewski

*German Architectural Theory, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Century*

Im Zusammenhang mit der Arbeit am Katalog der Architekturtraktate der Sammlung M. Millard bot der kurze Aufenthalt am Center for Advanced Study eine Gelegenheit zur Vertiefung von Fragen der architekturtheoretischen Literatur insbesondere im deutschen Kultur- und Sprachbereich. Im Vergleich zur italienischen oder französischen einschlägigen Forschung wird der deutsche Bereich weiterhin vergleichsweise stiefmütterlich behandelt und allzuhäufig auf wenige Positionen reduziert (Ryff, die "Säulenbücher," Furtenbach, Goldmann, Sturm). Das hat auch damit zu tun, dass sich in Deutschland keine "dominante" Theorie wie in Italien herausbildet, die gleichsam für Kontinuität sorgt, und dass nicht wie in Frankreich eine zentrale Architekturakademie für einen präzisen theoretischen "Kurs"—trotz aller Anfechtungen—sorgt. Nach "spezifisch deutschen Merkmalen" der architekturtheoretischen Literatur zu forschen, wäre zwar allzu einseitig, doch lassen sich einige Feststellungen treffen, die für weitere Untersuchungen durchaus nützlich und erheblich sind.

1. Wie auch in Italien und Frankreich sind die ersten Bearbeitungen Vitruvs in erster Linie eine Angelegenheit humanistisch-philologischer Erschließung und Analyse. Dies gilt für die Strassburger Ausgaben Vitruvs von 1543 und 1550 und genauso von Albertis "gelehrtem" Text (Strassburg 1541). Ryff bringt zwar die Verdeutschung, sein Beitrag ist jedoch auf dem Hintergrund der—1730 von Johann Gabriel Doppelmayr gewürdigten—Tätigkeit der "Nürnbergischen Mathematicis" zu sehen, und bleibt somit in erster Linie "wissenschaftlich" ausgerichtet.

Die streng *wissenschaftlich—d.h. mathematisch—ausgerichtete Behandlung der Architektur* charakterisiert die deutsche Traktatistik weit mehr als anderswo auch im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert. Goldmann ist Mathematiker wie der Vater des herausgeberisch äusserst aktiven L. Ch. Sturm: für beide ist die Zuordnung Architektur-Mathematik selbstverständlich. Und dies führt dann etwa zu der erstaunlichen Tatsache, dass Sturm in seinen *Reise-Anmerkungen* den 'klassischen' Franzosen Regelverstoss um Regelverstoss nachweist. Noch 1783 versucht Samuel Locke die Säulenordnung und die Superposition der Säulen auf solide mathematische Grundlage zu stellen, indem er von einer "General-Regul" ausgehende präzise Zahlen- und Rechenentabellen erstellt. Wissenschaftlichkeit wird hier im Sinne konsequent verfolgten systematischen Erfassens angestrebt.

2. Charakteristisch ist nicht nur die Zuordnung zu Mathematik (und zuweilen auch zu Mechanik), sondern auch die entsprechende *enzyklopädische Breite* im Zugriff zu den entsprechenden—und architektonisch relevanten—Anwendungsbereichen. Sturms Schriften reichen so weit über den (anderswo beinahe ausschliesslich zur Architektur gerechneten) Bereich der "architectura civilis" hinaus. Und so wird man umgekehrt architekturtheoretisch relevante Aussagen auch dort finden, wo man sie gemäss eines engeren disziplinären Zugriffs nicht sucht. Sturms "Vollständige Mülh-

enbaukunst" legt so deutliche Akzente auf eine wissenschaftlich-adäquate, zeichnerische Darstellungsmethode (letztlich ganz im Sinne von Alberti oder Barbaro!). Er kritisiert die vorausgegangenen einschlägigen (italienischen) Werke als zu bildhaft, kurios und unverlässlich und fordert stattdessen, dass aus der Darstellung auch Konstruktion klar ersichtlich sein soll.

3. Die "enzyklopädische Breite" der Architektur erklärt auch die Verbindungen zum "*studium generale*." Deutschland kennt die *Kavaliersausbildung* im Bereich Architektur. Christian Riegers "Universae Architecturae Civilis Elementa" entsprechen so dem Unterricht des Jesuiten am Theresianum in Wien, der auf hoher Ebene die Prinzipien dieser Wissenschaft genauso wie diejenigen der Mathematik und Physik vermittelte. Das Beispiel steht dafür, dass "akademische" Ausrichtung allerdings keineswegs Aktualität und Offenheit ausschloss: das 1756 lateinisch veröffentlichte Werk zitiert Schriften von Laugier (1753) und Blondel (1754).

4. Von M. Jousse abgesehen gibt es in Italien oder Frankreich kaum ein Werk, das so erfolgreich wie etwa das Buch von Johann Wilhelm die *Zimmermannsbaukunst* vertrat. Dies galt schon seit jeher als "spezifisch deutsch," zumal man auch um die Verquickung von Modellstichen für Schreiner mit Säulenbüchern weiss. Trotzdem ist die Feststellung aufschlussreich, dass J. Leupold 1726 im 7. Teil seines "Theatri Machinarum Universalis" über den Brückenbau ausdrücklich darauf hinweist, dass die Deutschen diesbezüglich "einen viel grössern Vorrath als andere Länder besitzen." Und noch C. Ch. Schramm beklagt sich in seiner Behandlung der "ausländischen, antiken und modernen Brücken" 1735 über die schlechte Quellenlage.

5. Als "erster" deutscher Architekturtheoretiker wird häufig J. Furtenbach angesprochen. Zweifelsohne ist er deutlich sichtbar daran interessiert, das "italienische Modell," für das er Begriffe wie "allerköstlichste" und "kunstreichste" führt, an den deutschen Bedürfnissen zu messen und zu relativieren. So macht er deutlich, dass blossе Fassadenkunst nicht ausreicht ("das die eusser Zierlichkeit/Dem Gsellen bringt kein Gschicklichkeit") und dass die innere Austeilung entsprechend dem gewünschten Zweck im Vordergrund stehen müsse. Die direktere *Ausrichtung auf Nützlichkeit* geht hier einher mit der Skepsis gegenüber den Säulenbüchern. Und spätestens seit diesem Zeitpunkt wird die '*Baufgabe*' gegenüber den (Säulen-) 'Stilen' in der deutschsprachigen Architekturliteratur vorrangig und dominierend.

Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule, Zurich  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1988

*The Life, Times, and Art of George Cruikshank*

George Cruikshank (1792-1878) was one of Britain's most varied and prolific graphic artists. His career encompassed the Regency, Romantic, and Victorian eras, and his art extended from broadsheet political caricatures to book illustration, temperance propaganda, and genre paintings. An accomplished etcher on copper and steel, he also executed lithographs, designed thousands of wood engravings, and experimented with glyptography and etching on glass. At the time of his death he had outlived two generations of patrons and audiences; his biographers were unsympathetic toward the early ribald satires, overwhelmed by the ten thousand or so published images, and defensive toward an artist whose notoriety as a cranky self-promoter had outlasted his reputation as the "young Hogarth" and, in Ruskin's estimation, the foremost etcher since Rembrandt. As a result none of the memorials was scholarly, unprejudiced, comprehensive, or sophisticated in assessing Cruikshank's achievement. Although succeeding generations of illustrators learned from him and collectors continued to prize his prints, his artistic production was not revalued until the 1970s, when exhibitions and essays—principally on book illustrations and temperance plates—began to reconsider his work.

In order to compose a documentary biography of the artist and to relate his pictures to his life and times, I began in the 1970s to search out relevant materials. To date I have located some eight thousand unpublished letters by or to Cruikshank, and have studied the principal collections of his drawings, proofs, prints, pamphlets, and paintings in British and American repositories. Portions of the first draft of a projected two-volume *Life* were composed in England during a 1980-1981 Guggenheim Fellowship year, at Princeton University in 1981-1982 while a visiting fellow there, and at the National Humanities Center in 1987-1988 as a fellow. The project has also been supported by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. At the Center for Advanced Study I completed a two-thousand page draft and began revisions.

The biography is divided into four twelve-chapter parts, preceded by a prologue that traces a typical day in the artist's studio and concluded by an epilogue that tracks the dispersion of his studio and the dissolution of his reputation. The first section covers his childhood, training, and early publications. In it the ways in which caricature prints were devised, manufactured, circulated, appreciated, and censored are discussed. The second section treats the period from 1820 to 1835, during which Cruikshank turned to book illustration. He was the first to picture Grimms' fairy tales, and with his brother he supplied aquatints for the best seller, *Life in London*; he also etched hundreds of illustrations for continental and British classics, ranging from Cervantes to Hugo, Cowper, Byron, Bunyan, and Scott. The third part commences with Cruikshank's introduction to the *Fraser's Magazine* circle in 1835, examines his famous etchings for Dickens' and Harrison Ainsworth's novels, and analyzes his early temperance efforts, especially the influential series *The Bottle* (1847) and *The Drunkard's Children* (1848). The last section tracks a long downhill slide. Cruikshank's tem-

perance redactions of fairy tales were lambasted by Dickens, his projected collaboration with Ruskin on new fairy tales was aborted, his temperance advocacy proved popular in the lecture halls but unremunerative, his oil paintings were largely unsuccessful, his design for a statue commemorating Robert the Bruce was superseded, and his claims to have originated *Oliver Twist* and Ainsworth's fictions were (unfairly, I believe) dismissed as an old man's "delusions."

Cruikshank's successes and failures as an artist cannot be appreciated without considering the political, social, commercial, and artistic contexts in which his works were generated. I have tried to pay particular attention to his reformulations of his predecessors—Hogarth, Gillray, Rowlandson, his father Isaac, Stothard, Henry Fuseli—and to his pictorial interaction with continental and British contemporaries—his brother Robert, Delacroix, Géricault, Daumier, Monnier, Gavarni, Doré, Goya, Töpffer, Wilkie, Mulready, Leslie, Stanfield, Thackeray, Leech, and Hablot K. Browne. His illustrations, incalculably influential, register a wide range of styles, from allegorical to theatrical, from vignette to panorama, and from comic to historical, that parallel and in many instances anticipate more general trends.

Cruikshank was never an effective writer, his literary style being, in the words of his pupil and friend George Augustus Sala, "as hazy and grammatically as 'weak at the knees,' as the march of his pencil and etching needle was strong and clear and sure." Consequently, his ideas and sensibility are better inferred from his pictures than from his occasional pamphlets on such eccentric topics as the prevention of burglary and the implausibility of ghosts. A brilliant parodist, he and his friend William Hone conducted a succession of matchless campaigns against the government and the prince regent during and after the Napoleonic Wars, in the course of which Cruikshank fashioned a political iconography for the moderate left that remained the basis of his own ideology, increasingly conservative as time went by. Over the course of nearly seventy years Cruikshank recorded the habits, homes, and entertainments of middle- and working-class Londoners; his humanity, catholicity of sympathy, humor, and passionate concern are manifest throughout. And for the world of fairy, elf, witch, demon, and magical transformations, Cruikshank had an especial gift, demonstrated in peeps through thumbnail-sized casements, that delighted adults and children through all the phases of his career.

The frontispiece to this report, *Fairy Connoisseurs Inspecting Mr. Locker's Collection of Drawings*, was commissioned very late in Cruikshank's life by a wealthy collector. Having lost his hold over a larger public, Cruikshank depended on a few individuals for slender support during his last twenty years, and their successors were essentially the only ones keeping his works in circulation for the next century. In this etching Cruikshank limns once again that peculiar blend of the real and the fantastic, the everyday and the wondrous, that epitomizes his style; and he shows the unexpected affinities between the patrons of high art and the connoisseurship of Oberon and Titania.

Rice University  
Associate, 1988-1989

JILL PEARLMAN

*Educating the Modern Architect: Joseph Hudnut and the New American Architecture, 1933-1953*

With the passing of modernism, architectural historians have published a flood of writings assessing exactly what it meant to be modernist. They have sought definitions through stylistic, typological, and biographical analyses and considered urbanistic issues and individual projects. They have designated as modern a period beginning anywhere from the latter part of the nineteenth century to the 1920s and ending as late as 1975.

The objective of my dissertation is to understand the phenomenon of modernism by focusing on the education of the modern architect in the United States. The argument throughout is that a new way of educating architects had an enormous impact on the mentality of young practitioners (reflected in their building) and broke through the barriers of a stagnant architectural tradition. I attempt to understand how, from the beginning of their careers, architects were instructed to conceive of the ideal modern society and to design, plan, and build projects that would bring the ideal closer to reality. In the modernist era a new unity was forged between the fields of architecture and education, for members of the architectural profession believed that progressive education would bring forth a new concept of architecture.

My study is organized around the educational work of Joseph Hudnut (1886-1968), the major figure who initiated and developed a new way of educating architects based on modern principles. Hudnut began to devise a modernist education when he was dean of the Columbia University architecture school between 1933 and 1935. He developed his pedagogical program further as the head of Harvard's Graduate School of Design from 1936 until 1953. At first controversial, the Harvard Graduate School of Design eventually served as the model for all other schools of architecture in the United States. Hudnut is best known for bringing Walter Gropius in 1937 to teach at Harvard where the German architect remained for fifteen years. Together with Gropius, Hudnut hoped to formulate a program that would reconcile the Bauhaus pedagogical methods and aesthetic values with American traditions. But the Bauhaus legacy at Harvard was ultimately built on profound ideological differences that developed between Hudnut and Gropius. By the late 1940s these differences hindered their collaborative efforts. Hudnut criticized what had become in his view a dogmatic approach to education and architecture, while Gropius steadfastly adhered to principles he had laid out twenty years earlier in the German Bauhaus.

For Hudnut, the task of the modern educator extended beyond the university and formal instruction. His work included teaching the public about modern architecture. Most significantly in this respect, Hudnut organized a national competition for a new Smithsonian gallery of art to be built on the Mall in Washington. As he conceived it, the museum would be in design and function, a type of modern educational institution. Hudnut

also reached the public, the clients, and patrons of modern architecture, through his prolific writings and active lecturing.

One of the chapters which I researched and wrote during part of my fellowship period is devoted to Hudnut's career before 1933. Looking at his educational background, his buildings, his work with the German planner Werner Hegemann, and his writings, I traced Hudnut's career from traditional Beaux-Arts architect and educator to ardent modernist.

The second chapter completed during this time considers the character of American architectural education from the late 1860s (when the first schools of architecture were established in American universities) until the start of the new alliance between architecture and education in 1933. From the 1860s on, the location of architecture schools within the context of the university had a most important effect on the teaching of architecture and on the development of the profession. The earliest architectural educators were practitioners who knew little about education. They lacked two essentials as they established the first schools—a philosophy of education and the guidance of an institutional prototype. The university provided them with both. The popular pedagogical theory of “mental discipline” was to strongly influence the teaching of architecture until after World War I. For a prototype on which to model their schools, architectural educators turned to the schools of the three professions already settled within the university, law, medicine, and theology. These “learned professions” provided architects with a structural model as well as a rhetoric for promoting the new architecture schools. Contact with these fields inside the university also advanced the professionalization of architecture, as architects looked to them for ways to further their own profession.

Thus I am concerned with the institutional and philosophical contexts in which the process of educating architects evolved. The university setting suggests several relationships that deserve historical examination. Although no university administration enforced a single schoolwide philosophy, the campus milieu, various institutional policies, and members of the university community affected the course of architectural study. Outside of the university the Beaux-Arts Institute of Design and the American Institute of Architects Committee on Education, to name only two examples of affiliated organizations, also devoted their efforts to educating architects.

The contemporary discourse on educational philosophy always affected the method and content of architectural teaching. In the modernist era, ideas about democratic education, associated in particular with John Dewey and his followers, penetrated architectural pedagogy as progressive architecture professors self-consciously looked beyond the familiar realm of architecture to educational theory for solutions to these problems.

The organizations and the interactions of people and institutions, the methods by which they propagated their ideas and the sources for these ideas, constitute the history of architectural education. My study of Hudnut and modernist architectural education encompasses this broad structure.

[University of Chicago]  
Chester Dale Fellow, 1988-1989

*Pisan Painting of the Second Quarter of the Trecento; and  
Simone Martini and His Artistic Ambient*

These two research projects have a shared origin. The first is an extension of my chronological investigation of the well known early mural paintings in the Campo Santo in Pisa (*Art Bulletin*, 1965) in which I placed them for historical-iconographic reasons sometime close after 1329. Previously, they had been thought to reflect the Black Death of 1348. During the first half of the century Pisa produced but one outstanding painter who could match the best production of his other Tuscan colleagues, this being Francesco Traini, who painted the *Saint Dominic* altarpiece for the Dominican church of Santa Caterina in 1345. Until then the Pisans had imported foreign masters to paint certain of their major commissions. Here Simone Martini and Lippo Memmi played a leading role, beginning with Simone's altarpiece painted for the church of Santa Caterina in 1319, followed by the *Triumph of Thomas* panel by Lippo Memmi (and shop) produced around 1323. The Sieneese were replaced sometime around the mid-twenties, or shortly after, by masters of different artistic origins, including the Florentine Buffalmacco and the elusive master of the Campo Santo *Crucifixion*.

By examining Simone Martini's artistic oeuvre I became aware of certain technical aspects of his painting that lend themselves to the chronological definition of many of his works. Simone Martini happened to be unusually concerned with ornament, experimenting extensively with the creation of diverse ornamental effects, some so remarkable as to be imitated by Sieneese and other Tuscan painters soon after he first introduced them. Accordingly, they can serve as *termini ante*. Indeed, his experimentation in ornamental practice submits to a stepped progress even within certain of his mural paintings: the Siena *Maestà* and the decoration of the Chapel of Saint Martin at Assisi.

As my work progressed, I tentatively divided Simone Martini's oeuvre into four successive phases. The first applies just to the Siena *Maestà*. This remarkable work, the earliest known by him, with its extreme complexity of iconography, style, and ornamental technique, remains the springboard for grasping his prior artistic experience and origin. It surely belongs within International Gothic circles and not the closer Sieneese ambient of Duccio, as many still would have it. The second phase overlaps the first as it comprises the 1321 repainting of the Siena *Maestà* by Simone himself. This second phase was a period of remarkably intense artistic activity reaching across central to southern Italy, including such masterpieces as the *Saint Louis* altar in Naples and the Saint Martin Chapel mural decoration at Assisi. During this phase Simone continued to develop new ornamental procedures, working yet independently of Lippo Memmi, who had his own *bottega*. The beginning of the next phase corresponded approximately to the marriage of Simone to Lippo's sister in 1324, and it lasted until Simone's departure for Avignon. During this period Simone was the unquestioned leading painter of the state of Siena, heading a large shop. The remarkable *Annunciation* of 1333 in the Uffizi Gallery belongs late in this

phase. Here Simone's ornamental technique, and that of Lippo who shared in the production of the altarpiece, set new precedents in quality and ornamental character which were soon imitated by other contemporary Tuscan masters. The fourth and last phase encompasses Simone's residence in Avignon, beginning roughly with the dispersed Orsini polyptych, to his death in 1342. In Siena the Lorenzetti brothers then replaced Simone as the state's preferred painters. However, his Siennese *bottega*, surely guided by Lippo Memmi, remained active, involving a number of painters of certain talent whose respective artistic roles are difficult to define.

My principal research interest has remained the scrutiny of the early mural paintings in the Campo Santo in Pisa. This remarkable pictorial cycle is a multifaceted conveyor of the culture of a mid-fourteenth-century Tuscan city, from the impact of its intense, dramatic style to its commentary on recent Pisan history, popular religion, and the decoration of a medieval monumental cemetery, for example. My work on these mural paintings focused on Pisan painting of the second quarter of the century, which led me to evidence of Buffalmacco as their principal author. The persuasiveness of this thesis is contingent on certain other issues, hitherto insufficiently explored. Essentially, these concern the relationship of Buffalmacco's Campo Santo activity to the course and substance of Pisan painting of the second quarter of the century. Here the artistic oeuvre of Francesco Traini and his relation to the Campo Santo paintings remain fundamental issues to be resolved. The solution to these problems is exacerbated by the fact that the only signed and dated work available by this remarkable painter is the *Saint Dominic* altarpiece of 1345, generally considered one of the great altarpieces produced in Tuscany around mid-century.

In addition to the stylistic issues of attribution, there is also the problem of the subject matter of the Campo Santo paintings. To what extent did the funerary site affect the meaning not only of the remarkable *Triumph of Death*, but also of the exceptional *Thebaid*? The painter displayed a remarkable ability in translating an iconographer's (or iconographers') instructions into a visual form endowed with remarkable dramatic power. The cooperative activity, important in its own right, also offers insight into the intellectual, political, religious, and social life of this Tuscan harbor city. It emerges that the iconographer was taken with Dante's great poem, but recently made available. The elaborations and divergences from religious iconography reveal dynamic and idiosyncratic views often challenging traditional iconographic schemes. The *Thebaid*, offering the hermits of the Egyptian desert in an unprecedented monumental setting, was based on a contemporary Pisan text. The range and complexity of the whole iconographic ensemble surprise and impress. These mural paintings also comment on contemporary Pisan events that involved a German emperor, a great Ghibelline general, a firm local archbishop, and an antipope. A richer late medieval iconographic fabric than this can hardly be found. Last but not least, recent findings, obtained in conjunction with the insights of Pisan scholars, have led to the narrowing of their date of production within the years 1332 and 1337.

The University of Calgary  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, winter 1989

THELMA K. THOMAS

*Niche Decorations from the Tombs of Early Byzantine Egypt:  
Visions of the Afterlife*

My dissertation charts the continuing development of a sculptural genre—niche decorations from monumental tombs of Byzantine Egypt—during that transitional period in which paganism and Christianity coexisted. The niche decorations possessed both visual force and personal significance. Carved in relief and then brilliantly polychromed, they were placed within the crowns of niches high up in the interior walls of tombs. The sculptural forms in the niches represented funerary themes appropriate to the standing of the deceased and reflective of their interests.

Because there is scarce archaeological evidence for dating the documented niche decorations and their contexts and for attributing and authenticating more recent discoveries, I have presented detailed analyses of the physical remains. The poor physical condition of many of these works often accounts for low opinions of their quality and of the skills of the artisans who made them. Surface deterioration has obscured the considerable achievements of their mannered carving styles and the effects of their polychromy. Remains of the outermost layers of paint and sizing ground are difficult to discern, if they remain at all. Typically, the friable limestone from which the reliefs were carved has suffered much damage, such as surface losses from crystallization of salts in the stone and recarving to meet the demands of the art market.

Physical analyses furnished basic information for my definition of the sculptural genre and descriptions of individual works. In agreement with previous studies, general dates in the fourth and fifth centuries were assigned



Carved limestone niche decoration from Heracleopolis Magna, fifth century A.D.  
Courtesy of The Brooklyn Museum

to these works, owing to parallels between their stylistic characteristics and structural features and those of comparable early Byzantine sculptures and niched tombs from around the empire. Although similar in the principles underlying their execution (as well as in dimensions, structural types, carving, and painting techniques), no two Byzantine Egyptian niched decorations are exactly alike. While previous studies assigned their obvious iconographic dissimilarities to lack of artistic skills and knowledge of Greco-Roman traditions, the available physical evidence suggests that the niche decorations were intentionally unique.

In a radical departure from previous studies of these sculptures, which classified them as Coptic (Egyptian Christian) remains from the lower end of the socioeconomic spectrum, I see them as commemorating the wealthy Greek or Hellenized city-dweller. Documentary and literary papyri from the two principle sites to which the niche decorations must be attributed—Heracleopolis Magna, near the modern Ahnas or Ihnasya-el-Medina, and Oxyrhynchus, modern Behnasa or Bahnasa—as well as other primary written sources clearly indicate that both privileged pagans and Christians who could afford such sumptuous monuments commissioned the tombs from specialized artisans willing and able to work for patrons of either faith.

The dual Greco-Roman and Byzantine heritage evident in the carving and painting styles of the niche decorations may also be found in the pagan and Christian iconographic repertoires. Figural types and attributes of divinities in the pagan compositions were carefully chosen to match the distinguishing traits of the deceased. As in written sources, nymphs, for example, are linked with those who died young. The relation between an individual commemorated in a given niche decoration and the subject of the decoration was further strengthened by specific combinations of subsidiary motifs. Consequently, a representation of a nymph wearing a marriage belt made clear the young married woman was honored by the tomb it decorated. In contrast the Christian image, such as the wreathed cross surrounded by vegetation, was in no way a portrait but depicted the soul's abode in paradise. The glorified cross at the center of the most Christian compositions determines the paradisiacal setting in terms of redemption theology and popular eschatology.

[New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]  
Chester Dale Fellow, 1987–1988

*The Commercial City, 1790–1860*

My work at the Center was part of a larger study of the role of the commercial mentality in shaping the urban landscape in the early national period, focusing on the transformation of city dwellers' perception and use of urban space. The relationship between commercialism and the urban landscape assumed many forms. Urban commercial districts were created in this era. Common building types assumed new forms, and new urban types were invented that used vaulted or post-and-lintel structure to create repetitive, multicelled spaces. The modern hotel, the office building, and the shopping arcade are examples of these new types. They resulted from novel ways of organizing work, from changes in consumer expectations, and from the recognition of the economies of scale such as spatial and structural arrangement permits.

The antebellum governmental buildings of Washington, D.C., are among the key monuments of the architectural history I am exploring, and I devoted part of my residence at the Center to examining the history and fabric of Robert Mills' Patent Office, General Post Office, and particularly his United States Treasury building. Before the late eighteenth century even quite large businesses were managed by boards of directors who met frequently, and were staffed by a handful of clerks. The standard office building thus comprised an elegant directors' room and one or two large rooms for clerks. In the United States as in Europe, the national government was the first bureaucratic institution sizable enough to require the services of large numbers of clerks performing similar tasks. A series of repetitive spaces for such labor now seems to be a commonsense solution to the architectural problem, yet Mills' building had complex antecedents. An important predecessor was William Chambers' Somerset House, whose form in many respects was derived from its own forerunner, a Renaissance palace that became a government office building by accident. In addition many of the Treasury building's features were based on its own predecessors, the Treasury, State, War and Navy department buildings that flanked the White House in the early nineteenth century. Moreover, Mills' repetitive-celled building was prompted as much by intellectual and aesthetic assumptions about work as by utilitarian values. It sparked a decades-long debate over whether such a building was the proper one for conducting and supervising the public business and for storing public records, and it was threatened with demolition several times in its early history.

Mills' buildings demonstrate that the commercial mentality constituted a cultural system as much as an economic outlook, and thus a study of the urban commercial landscape must include more than the narrowly mercantile. The practical advantages of the repetitive-celled building were elevated to social and spatial principles—identified as *classification* and *separation*—and applied to many other building and landscape types from penitentiaries, schools, and asylums of all sorts to rural cemeteries. Early national period writers were frank in discussing the elevation of practice

to principle. A report of the Boston Prison Discipline Society, for example, included the architectural form of the prison in a list of the society's most significant contributions to American progress. The usefulness of the multicelled prison building, according to the society, obviously made it appropriate as a model for houses of refuge (reform schools), and almshouses. They also hoped that the same form ultimately would be recognized as the ideal one for schools and for the homes of families with large numbers of children!

While the commercial experience stimulated such rationalistic and systematic thinking about the city, it also promoted an anarchically individualistic attitude toward the urban setting, particularly among small businessmen. Individual merchants drew attention to their wares in increasingly boisterous ways that their neighbors often found offensive. They introduced bowfronted shop windows and bright lighting; they advertised with bells, horns, and cries; they constructed large and obtrusive signs that projected from the tops, sides, and faces of buildings; and they extended their shop space out onto the streets.

Most of my residence at the Center was devoted to exploring the cultural response to the perceived urban chaos that resulted from unfettered, individualistic enterprise. For many early republican urbanites, the city was a collection of diverse, often annoying, sometimes threatening landscapes. There were landscapes of work and landscapes of leisure, but also landscapes of the genteel and landscapes of the rowdy, landscapes of the honest and landscapes of the criminal. These landscapes were defined not only visually and physically by architecture and decoration, but aurally by the ambient sounds that seemed increasingly intrusive in the early republican city. Sounds in the city created overlapping, clashing, social landscapes that shared the same physical space.

A principle aim of the antebellum builders and planners was to resolve this ambiguity between visual and aural landscapes by physical means. One writer, for example, noted that the genteel atmosphere of a richly decorated parlor might be shattered by the cries of street vendors and the noise of heavily laden vehicles traveling over stone-paved streets. Quieter methods of street paving (notably wooden paving blocks), new controls over street activity, and the physical sorting of residential and business neighborhoods helped to alleviate some of this aggravation.

Yet more than one's nerves were threatened, as the literature of prisons makes clear. Prison reformers often alluded to prisoners' use of "flash language," or criminal slang. In the reformers' eyes, the flash language allowed criminals to insinuate a parallel social landscape, perceptible only to other criminals, into the midst of honest citizens. Thus the architecture of prisons was designed not only to *reform* individual criminals, but to *break down* the sinister shadow landscape. In other words prison reformers, like their counterparts in the residential city, wished to use architecture to establish an identity between the apparent and the actual landscapes. The physical enforcement of separation and classification would resolve the human ambiguities of urban society.

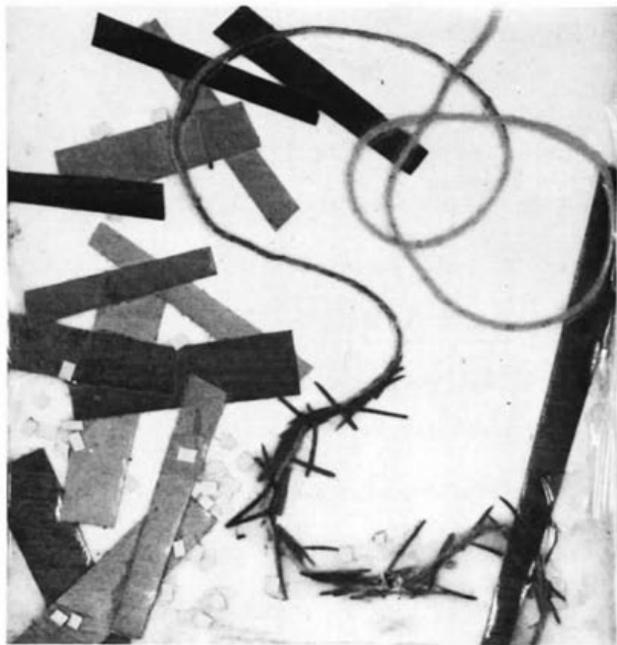
University of California, Berkeley  
Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1988

## TOMÁŠ VLČEK

### *Vojtěch Preissig in the United States: 1910–1931*

Among the questions that emerged during my previous work on the Czech graphic artist and painter Vojtěch Preissig, the most interesting concerned the prints, drawings, and collages that the artist produced in the United States. Based on the art nouveau interest in connections between art and nature, these works represent an original move toward abstract art. In a lecture given at the Twenty-sixth International Congress of the History of Art, in Washington, 1986, I tried to show that Preissig's attitude toward nature can be related to similar tendencies in American science in the 1920s. A two-month fellowship at the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts enabled me to discover more points of contact between Preissig's work and American culture of the first half of the twentieth century.

Vojtěch Preissig came to the United States as a graphic artist of considerable reputation. The traditions of Central and Western European cultures merged in his work into a charming art nouveau symbiosis. In this respect he followed in the footsteps of Alfons Mucha, a countryman with whom he had collaborated in 1898. Mucha, however, aimed at connecting the emotional formalism of the Nazarene tradition with the modern sensualism of Parisian culture of the 1890s, while Preissig enriched this synthesis with elements of British graphic art and design as well as the theories of W. Morris,



Vojtěch Preissig, *Collage*, after 1916. Author photograph

T. Dresser, and L. F. Day. How Preissig's work in Europe was to evolve further depended on the fact that his concept of art subsisted in his belief in the utopia of art nouveau social and cultural harmony, a belief that survived even after 1905, when the ideal of harmony was shattered by strains of dissonance.

In 1910 Preissig left Europe for the United States in hope of finding there a fertile soil for his artistic ideas. After two years of abortive attempts at establishing himself on the East Coast, he went to New York where he found an inspiring artistic milieu teeming with a wide spectrum of creative tendencies. From 1912 to 1916 as a teacher of graphic art at the Art Students League, Preissig sought a new mode of expression using the basic elements of graphic art—points, lines, block shapes, and pure colors. In the course of attempting to find a new vocabulary of synthetic art, he met Arthur Wesley Dow, then dean of the Teachers College of Columbia University and an artist of related interests. The American artist engaged him as an instructor at the college, where Preissig founded a course on the colored print. Dow's theory of composition supported Preissig's own interest in relating Western artistic tradition to Far Eastern inspirational sources and the latter's search for the abstract in art. In the 1910s this tendency found one magical interpretation in Claud Bragdon's theosophical aesthetic, which also had a considerable impact on Preissig's art.

When Preissig lost the chance for a full professorship at Columbia University in 1916, he moved to Boston to become the head of a newly established school of graphic art, printing, and photography at the Wentworth Institute. Leaving New York meant that he lost direct contact with the creative ideas of this rapidly developing cultural center. Working in almost total isolation in Boston, Preissig came to appreciate Japanese art anew and found in it a source of inspiration for his collages, ornamental studies, and abstract drawings. The next stage in his work came with a 1922 project called *Art Fundamental*, a spatial representation of the creative process of imagination by means of abstract forms. Although this project did not materialize, it represented an important point in the development of Preissig's later work in the United States.

Released from teaching in 1926, Preissig lived and worked on Long Island until 1931. In spite of his original direction toward abstract art, the works he created while in the United States have many features in common with new developments in the American representational art of the twenties as exemplified by the work of Arthur Dove.

Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1987

*Mortuary Chapels of Renaissance Condottieri*

A series of north Italian mortuary chapels of Renaissance mercenary cavalry captains, or condottieri, forms a specific type of chapel design incorporating an equestrian tomb. In this distinctive type, which emerged in the fifteenth century, medieval chivalric and classical antique motifs were synthesized to give expression to the military virtue of the deceased. The patrons of these chapels shared aspirations and ideals, attempting to create a heroic identity in a culture ambivalent about them. My dissertation attempts to demonstrate that this condottiere chapel tradition was a concrete historical reality.

Renaissance condottieri have not been systematically studied, although they form one of the most significant nonecclesiastical groups of patrons in the quattrocento. In the first half of the dissertation the cultural context of these patrons is considered, beginning with a discussion of the social standing of condottieri, their piety, and burial practices. In the second chapter the development of the particular type of military organization in Renaissance Italy which defined the class of patrons is outlined. Uses of the equestrian motif in mortuary and commemorative contexts for *podestà*, knights, and *signori* to 1400 are surveyed. Renaissance states, particularly Florence and Venice, provided publicly commissioned equestrian tomb monuments as tokens of official recognition of exemplary service. The example of the Hawkwood monument in Florence and its political circumstances (the Luccan War of 1429–1433) are examined in depth as a case study of this general phenomenon. In this context humanists' discussions of antique precedents for commemorative sculpture for military heroes are surveyed, beginning with Leonardo Bruni's Oration for Nicolo da Tolentino, and taken from funeral orations and treatises on history, government, and military science. It is suggested that these texts provided additional stimuli to classicism in patrons' and artists' conceptions of mortuary monuments.

In the second half of the dissertation I look at the chapels themselves and related projects. My approach has been to reconstruct a network of connections between the patrons and, to a lesser extent, between their artists. Beginning with the Serego chapel in Verona (1424–1444) and three other north Italian equestrian tombs modeled after it, the significance of the equestrian motif is explored as well as how classical elements are introduced into mortuary chapel decoration. These issues are then considered in the ensembles of painting and sculpture of the Colleoni, Bentivoglio, and Trivulzio chapels. Bartolomeo Colleoni's dealings with Francesco Sforza and his rivalry with Sforza's son Galeazzo Maria are well known to Renaissance historians, but the way this military and political rivalry spilled over into their artistic patronage has not been explored—despite the fact that they shared an important Lombard artist, Giovan Antonio Amadeo. The nature and location of the lost Sforza ducal tombs in Milan Cathedral are reconstructed to serve as a point of contrast to Colleoni's mortuary

chapel, and to Trivulzio's chapel, which responds pointedly to the ducal tombs and other Sforza projects.

Fitting Giovanni II Bentivoglio into this network of political and artistic rivalries posed different kinds of questions. As *signore* of Bologna, Bentivoglio was a political client of the Sforza and also a condottiere. I argue that he took his military profile seriously and that he was also immersed in the courtly chivalric culture associated with other condottiere lords such as the d'Este and Gonzaga. Trivulzio's mortuary chapel, designed as a free adaptation of a Roman imperial mausoleum, was clearly an expression of the patron's frustrated political ambitions at the end of a long career of almost continuous military engagement. His biography reveals ties to the Sforza, Colleoni, and a number of other condottieri, and to other important patrons such as Julius II, and their artists.

The most thoroughly documented connection between one condottiere patron and another comes with Federigo Gonzaga's plans for an equestrian tomb for his father, Francesco II, with which I end the study. The interrelationships between the Gonzaga, Trivulzio, and the pope suggest new directions for interpreting the artistic interchange between their artists, Raphael, Leonardo da Vinci, and Michelangelo.

Leonardo's unrealized designs for the Trivulzio monument, and their afterlife in projects designed by Raphael, Michelangelo, Bandinelli, and others, offer a point of departure for concluding remarks about the transformation in meaning of the equestrian motif in the sixteenth century, from one symbolizing civically important military virtues of prudence and loyalty to a closer connection to notions of imperial triumph and political rulership.

[Princeton University]  
Mary Davis Fellow, 1987–1988



Above: Leonardo da Vinci, *Unrealized designs for the Trivulzio Monument*, c. 1508–1512, Windsor Castle, Royal Library, W12355. Reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II

ARTHUR K. WHEELOCK, JR.

*Vermeer's Painting Techniques and Their Relationship to His Style*

The curatorial fellowship at the Center for Advanced Study permitted me to devote four months to a monograph on Johannes Vermeer. It is not a conventional study, for it will focus on only fifteen or sixteen paintings of Vermeer's oeuvre of approximately thirty-five works. Although the historical circumstances and stylistic and thematic traditions that underlie his work are utilized in the discussions, the emphasis is on Vermeer the artist and craftsman. By examining specific paintings in depth, I try to come to a fuller understanding of the relationship of Vermeer's painting technique to the character of the images he has created. The approach has been to select key paintings to demonstrate how he conceived them and the ways in which his approach differed at various stages of his career.

During a previous fellowship at the Center I was able to develop the framework for the study and to write on five of Vermeer's paintings. This past summer I focused on *A Woman Asleep* (Metropolitan Museum of Art), *Officer and Laughing Girl* (Frick Collection), *The Music Lesson*, (Collection of Her Majesty the Queen, London), *The Allegory of Painting* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), *The Concert* (Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston), and *Mistress and Maid* (Frick Collection). The issues considered in each work differed substantially because of the variations in subject matter and chronology, but always the discussion drew on technical information as well as stylistic analysis.

One of the most complex and fascinating of this group of paintings is *The Allegory of Painting*. To judge from its intricate composition and large scale, Vermeer attached great importance to this work. Personal associations also may explain why even after his death, when the family was in dire financial straits, the painting was not sold. Vermeer's widow, Catharina Bolnes, transferred ownership to her mother to keep it from the hands of creditors.

While the ideas underlying Vermeer's allegory belong to a long and deeply ingrained tradition, Vermeer's interpretation is unique. Instead of conveying his theme with a single allegorical figure, Vermeer elicits abstract concepts from the specific realities on which his art had come to rely for its inspiration. The allegory transpires in a recognizable room filled with objects drawn from his daily experience. The event Vermeer depicts is an artist painting an image of his model, whom he has dressed as Clio, following the prescriptions of Ripa. She wears a crown of laurel to denote Glory, holds the trumpet of Fame in her hand, and clasps to her chest a volume of Thucydides, symbolizing History. The artist, having posed her, is in the process of abstracting her presence by carefully and accurately recording her image on his canvas. He thus is not so much inspired to create by the Muse of History, as he is the agent through which the Muse acquires life and significance. His image of Clio will convey meanings resulting from a fusion of his artistic vision and the intellectual and emo-

tional associations traditionally brought to her.

While central to the meaning of the allegory, the artist's depiction of Clio is only one component of Vermeer's work. For Vermeer the art of painting meant more than conveying abstract principles in realistic form; that form needed to be built on a thorough understanding of the laws of nature. The illusionism of *The Allegory of Painting* is the framework around which the thematic interplay between the model as Clio and the artist transpires. Their existence and their relationship are convincing only in the context of an elaborately conceived interior, constructed according to the dictates of linear perspective. The interior is given life through Vermeer's masterful observations of light falling on and illuminating the figures and the room. Finally, the extraordinary techniques that convey glints of light from the chandelier, the diffused folds of drapery hanging over the edge of the table, and the aged appearance of the map of the United Netherlands on the wall emphatically pronounce Vermeer's insistence that the allegory be grounded in close observation of natural effects and in a matching virtuosity of painterly touch. Indeed much of my discussion on this painting centers on the various techniques Vermeer used to convey this sense of realism and on the relationship of these visual effects to his allegory.

Central to the allegory is the close bond between art and history. The artist immortalized the Muse of History, I believe, because she is and always has been the muse that elevates an artist's aspirations. Art only reaches its highest level of accomplishment when it strives to convey the abstract ideas of human behavior traditionally associated with allegories and representations drawn from the Bible and mythology. In this instance Vermeer—by dressing the artist in a sixteenth-century Burgundian costume and by including the map and a chandelier surmounted by a double-headed eagle, the imperial symbol of the Hapsburg dynasty—also emphasized that the artist's work, grounded in reverence for history and an understanding of his nation's past, is the vehicle through which his country's glory and fame are transmitted.

National Gallery of Art

Ailsa Mellon Bruce National Gallery of Art Curatorial Fellow,  
summer 1988



Johannes Vermeer, *The Allegory of Painting*, c. 1667, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

THOMAS WILLETTE

*Guercino's Paintings of Joseph with the Wife of Potiphar and Amnon and Tamar, and Research on Massimo Stanzione*

The year of my fellowship created the opportunity for a joint relationship with the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts and the Department of Southern Baroque Painting in the National Gallery of Art. During the fellowship period I worked on curatorial projects as an assistant to Beverly Louise Brown while pursuing my own research on the seventeenth-century Neapolitan painter Massimo Stanzione, whose artistic production and biography were the main subjects of my Ph.D. dissertation (Johns Hopkins University, 1988). The dissertation was completed here at the Center with the support of a Samuel H. Kress Predoctoral Fellowship.

As a curatorial assistant I participated in the preparation of an exhibition proposal (obtaining photographs and helping in the selection of potential loans) and wrote wall labels for the exhibition of *Treasures from the Fitzwilliam*, organized by the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, England, and the National Gallery of Art (shown in Washington, D.C., 19 March–18 June 1989). My principal curatorial task was to gather data on two recently acquired paintings by Giovanni Francesco Barbieri (called Guercino), *Joseph with the Wife of Potiphar* and *Amnon and Tamar*. Guercino (1591–1666) was born in Cento, in the region of Emilia, and was the youngest of the major followers of the Carracci. After the death of Guido Reni in 1642 he was undoubtedly the most important painter working in the city of Bologna, where the Carracci earlier had launched their well-known reform of late cinquecento art theory and practice.

The two paintings in the National Gallery of Art, actually a pair originally designed as pendants, are clearly from the period when Guercino was imitating the style of the deceased Guido Reni and are to be identified with a pair of similarly titled works recorded several times in Guercino's account book during the years 1649–1651. My research on the provenance of the paintings and on the numerous versions of both compositions (including previously overlooked but closely related paintings and drawings) indirectly supported this hypothesis and added some concrete details to our knowledge of Guercino's workshop practices. A different set of problems was posed by the question of why these particular Old Testament subjects were structured as pendants and how this format involves the viewer (or at least the viewer who attempts to read them as counterpoised images) in constructing a subtext whereby Joseph and the Wife of Potiphar and Amnon and Tamar make sense together. The scene of Amnon rejecting his sister Tamar, whom he has just raped, was rarely depicted in art before the seventeenth century, and Guercino's paintings appear to be the first instance in which the subject was paired with the much more common scene of sexual rejection from the story of Joseph and the wife of Potiphar. The logic of this juxtaposition turns, I believe, on the conceit of Love's intimacy with Hate (familiar to us for example from Shakespeare), and the pendants may be read together as a highly "literary" (intertextual) meditation on

the nature of violent sexual passion, one of the most common topics in Italian lyric poetry of Guercino's time. I intend to publish the arguments for this reading, which draw on ancient texts, medieval Jewish legend, and seventeenth-century European dramas, along with some of the visual documentation for the paintings I gathered for the curatorial files in the course of the year.

The time for independent research and writing made possible by the fellowship allowed me to close important gaps in my catalogue of Massimo Stanzione's paintings—particularly where works in North American collections are concerned—and to develop the parts of my dissertation that outlined the problems of Stanzione's workshop and patronage. This project, turning the dissertation into a book, also benefited from a travel stipend which enabled me to return to Italy to check references, reexamine paintings, and consult with a prospective publisher. The opportunity to renew friendships with my Italian colleagues was itself a great help, for their good will and collaboration are simply indispensable.

Pomona College

Samuel H. Kress Postdoctoral Curatorial Fellow, 1988-1989



Guercino, *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife*, 1649/1650, National Gallery of Art, Washington, Patrons' Permanent Fund

DIETER WUTTKE

*An Edition of Selected Letters of Erwin Panofsky*

The art historian Erwin Panofsky (1892–1968) was not only one of the greatest and most influential experts in his field but one of the outstanding humanists of our century. His letters were of the utmost eloquence and he was held in high esteem by those who corresponded with him. When in the early 1970s news spread that an edition of his letters would be prepared, that message was well received by historians of all kinds.

In the autumn of 1987 Professor Gerda Panofsky-Soergel, the widow of Erwin Panofsky, inquired about my willingness to tackle the task of editing a selection of her husband's letters. I asked her to grant me sufficient time in order to give the project careful consideration. From 14 October to 17 November 1988 I visited Washington, D.C., in order to familiarize myself with the Erwin Panofsky Papers his wife had donated for safekeeping to the Archives of American Art in 1980. These papers comprise the largest collection of Panofsky's correspondence worldwide; close scrutiny was to help me to determine whether an edition of Panofsky's letters should be undertaken and if so, to take the first steps toward its realization. The insight I gained into the correspondence after a few days was convincing, and frankly I found the letters fascinating to such an extent that I resolved to embark on the editing project.

Only through reading Panofsky's correspondence does the whole spectrum of his personality unfold in all its richness. The letters are apt to overcome prejudices, or at least to qualify them. They reflect the opinions and feelings of a man who had lived through the darkest chapter of European history in our century. They afford an unexpected insight into the genesis of his academic work, thereby bringing to light Panofsky's impact on the history of art. The relations he maintained with American and international academic institutions become manifest in all their diversity. Thus the letters make a contribution to the historiography of those institutions, which in the majority of cases is still to come into being. They lay open a plethora of personal relations and academic contacts, hitherto unknown, and furnish proof of Panofsky's social commitment on behalf of the humanities, completely unknown until now. As long as his correspondence remains unpublished, Panofsky's intellectual biography cannot be written; nor can a history of twentieth-century art history be conceived which would be reliable in its underlying ideas. Only the letters Panofsky exchanged with the writer Booth Tarkington from 1938 to 1946 have been published, by Princeton in 1974, in a fine book edited by Richard M. Ludwig. It is safe to say that a publication covering a longer period and a vast range of correspondents will widen the perspectives of this special correspondence.

There have been suggestions that the Panofsky Papers in Washington comprise a total of eight to nine thousand letters. This figure must be revised, however: we have to reckon with approximately sixteen thousand letters either written by Panofsky himself or addressed to him. They come from 2,214 correspondents. Classified by individuals and institutions, the

addressees are arranged in alphabetical order. The material is accessible for perusal only on the condition that Mrs. Panofsky's explicit consent be obtained beforehand. Most of Panofsky's letters are written in English, many in German, and a smaller number in French or Latin. In the majority of cases his correspondence contains carefully revised typewritten carbon copies. Rough drafts and autograph letters are rare. In contrast the addressees' letters are mostly originals. I know from personal experience that Panofsky spontaneously took up pen to record his flow of thoughts. In those cases no copies can be found in the bequest. Often there is not even an indication of the existence of these letters. It is my sincere hope that many of them will come to my attention by making the project widely known. The bequest in Washington does not hold letters from Panofsky's early years and only a few from the period 1920 to 1936. The vast majority date from 1937 to 1967.

I know from talks with Professor William S. Heckscher and Professor Egon Verheyen, both Panofsky's friends, and from my research into the Panofsky Papers, that there are further sources of letters which will prove relevant. I believe that the Panofsky correspondence contains an estimated twenty to twenty-two thousand existing letters.

It is obvious that a representative selection is necessary since the material in its entirety cannot be published within a reasonable period of time; what is more, such an edition would not add to Panofsky's reputation unless it were readable. If one considers the plethora of material, the task of selection is the crux and the major problem of a publication of Panofsky's correspondence. There is no way to eliminate certain letters as a matter of course. A letter to an unknown person may have the same importance as one addressed to a prominent person, or it may even be more important. Consequently, all the material available must be examined. I hope the forthcoming publication of Panofsky's letters will stimulate the editing of other obscure material and spur further publication of Panofsky's correspondence with certain individuals.

It was on 31 March 1958 that Panofsky wrote to Julian P. Boyd, the editor of the large Jefferson edition of letters: "The only question which remains—and I think, should remain—in our minds is the problem of selection. We all agree that, once the necessity of real editions is recognized, the material edited should be complete and not be subject to the whims of the editor. But the question arises: who and what is important enough to be so treated?" At that time Panofsky could not have imagined that this passage would someday be applied to him.

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